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Kach barred from contesting election

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

By a vote of 18 to 10, with seven abstentions, the Central Elections Committee last night voted to bar the Kach movement of Rabbi Meir Kahane from running for the Knesset.

In a letter to Kach representative Moshe Nimmann after the vote, Central Elections Committee Chairman Justice Gavriel Bach said the decision had been taken because the party advocates racist and anti-democratic principles; openly supports terrorism; fans hatred among various sectors of the population; offends the religious values of some

of the citizenry; and negates its goals the foundations of Israeli democracy. The voting in favour of disqualification were the Alignment, the Communists, Shinui, the Citizen Rights Movement, and Bach. Opposing invalidation were the National Religious Party, the Agudat Yisrael, Tehiya, Tami and part of the Likud.

Ronnie Milo and a few other Likud representatives abstained. Milo explained earlier that the party had decided on a free vote because while its members are strongly opposed to Kahane's principles, they shrink from banning any party from the election.

Red Cross visits Israelis held in Syria

Post Defence Correspondent

Red Cross officials recently visited three Israeli civilians being held in Damascus, for the first time since they were captured while on a May Day sightseeing tour in Lebanon.

The three are Eran Florentin, Shmuel Rogel and Nahum Neshet. They were detained by Lebanese troops at a roadblock and handed over to the Syrians.

The three served at the Israeli liaison office in Dbaiyeh, near Beirut.

Milo also criticized strongly the comparison made by Yehuda Hashai (Alignment) between Kach and the Nazis.

Yehuda Elinson (NRP) was one of seven speakers who mentioned the effort made to ban the Mapam list in the third Knesset elections, pointing out that Mapam is now a respectable member of the Alignment.

Bach opened the 4½ hour debate by reading out the request of the four factions who sought Kach's disqualification.

He added his own endorsement of that proposal by saying that anti-Semites would no longer need to

Shamir urges Syria to negotiate

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Prime Minister Shamir yesterday called on the Syrians to negotiate with Israel about "the entire Lebanese question."

The prime minister said that if the Syrians want to settle matters in Lebanon, they would find Israel "a serious and credible negotiating partner." Shamir was speaking during a visit to this Upper Galilee development town yesterday.

Shamir said that he does not anticipate any worsening of the situation in Lebanon's Bekaa valley. There is no deterioration on the ground, he said, although Israeli forces remain alert to developments.

Israel's position is well-known to the Syrians, said the prime minister, who added: "If they try to attack us or provoke us, they will not succeed."

Attacking the Alignment last night, Shamir asked, "Where are you hiding Yossi Sarid, Shmuelov, Abba Eban?"

Shamir said the Alignment was hiding these people because they wanted to withdraw the IDF from Lebanon so that Katyushas would fall again on Kiryat Shmona.

Shamir said that the attacks on the Israel Defence Forces in South Lebanon would not reach Kiryat Shmona. "That's why we are there," he said. There had been no increase in attacks on the IDF in the South recently and there had been a decline in the seriousness and effectiveness of the attacks, he said.

The IDF is taking action to reduce the hostile action further, he said. Most of the population of South Lebanon want to live in peace and security, said Shamir, and opposes the terrorists' return to the area.

The prime minister said that the South Lebanese Army of Gen. Antoine Lahad has developed recently with some very positive results. The government will continue in its efforts to guarantee peace to Galilee, he said. But this does not have to involve a permanent IDF presence in South Lebanon.

Turning to the economy, the prime minister said that the government is remaining faithful to its principle of safeguarding wages. Labour unrest, he said, is being provoked for political reasons and is harming the economy, he said.

Shamir kicked off his visit at the community centre of Beit Edelstein, where the Israel-Lebanon peace talks took place. He received bread and wine from the town's two chief rabbis.

As he walked through the streets people called out, "Shamir — promise us no more Katyusha rockets on Kiryat Shmona!"

The prime minister visited the family of Yoram Mar-Yosef, who was killed three weeks ago in Lebanon. In reply to a question of when the IDF would leave the area, he replied, "We will get out of South Lebanon when we can guarantee security and peace in Galilee."

He also opened the Cyclone plant for the repair and maintenance of light aircraft.

Karamah won't invite Syrian troops to Beirut

BEIRUT (Reuters). — Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karamah has ruled out inviting a Syrian deterrent force back to Beirut to enforce a fragile cease-fire between Lebanon's warring Christian and Muslim militias.

In an interview published in the English-language magazine *Monday Morning* yesterday amid preparations for a visit by Syrian Vice-President Abdel-Halim Khaddam, Karamah said Lebanon would have to rely on its own army and gendarmerie to restore order.

Asked what the chances were of the government calling in the Syrians, he said: "There is no possibility of such a development. I rule it out and see nothing to justify it."

Syrian troops were stationed in Beirut from the end of the 1975-6 civil war to the Israeli invasion of 1982, when they were evacuated with thousands of Palestinian terrorists.

The idea of bringing them back

has arisen on and off since a multinational western force withdrew from the Lebanese capital earlier this year, leaving the Lebanese to keep the peace themselves for the first time in eight years.

Karamah said his "national unity" government hoped to turn the fragmented Lebanese Army into an effective force capable of assisting the gendarmerie in security duties and of taking the place of Israeli troops in the occupied South.

The future of the army is expected to be at the centre of Khaddam's talks with Karamah and with President Amin Gemayel.

Cabinet sources said the Khaddam visit, already delayed several times, could take place today. Because the army issue is so sensitive, Karamah and Gemayel have been handling it through personal contacts with ministers and have not dared call a cabinet meeting for over two weeks.



The defendants in the Jewish terrorism trial are led out of the Jerusalem District Court after yesterday's court session. (Yitzhak Elharar)

Jewish terror trial likely to be delayed Row in courtroom at 'PLO presence'

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The trial of 22 defendants in the alleged Jewish terrorism group will not get under way fully until September, it emerged yesterday. Both defence and prosecution indicated they would agree to a postponement until after the summer recess.

Among the highlights of yesterday's session in the Jerusalem District Court were:

- Relatives of the accused staged a protest walkout after they discovered that an Arab lawyer was among the spectators.
- Defence lawyers said that their clients would plead not guilty to all the charges, but would concede that the facts in the charge sheet are true. In pre-trial motions, the 14 defence lawyers also argued for separate trials for their clients, saying the state cannot prove there was a terror organization.

A specially built courtroom was set up in the second-floor lobby of the Jerusalem District Court to hold some 300 suspects, lawyers, relatives, journalists, guards and spectators expected to attend the proceedings.

As has happened in all the preliminary hearings, the defendants again wandered freely through the courtroom before the judges came in, and used the opportunity to use the bathroom to converse with friends and relatives in the corridor outside the courtroom.

The names of the defendants may still not be published by court order. Today Judge Yisrael Weiner will hear arguments for and against publication, and for and against the remand of the accused in custody until the end of proceedings. It is possible that Weiner today will permit release of the names of the defendants — several of whom are leading Judea and Samaria settlement movement figures — after the hearing.

Yesterday presiding Judge Ya'acov Bazak and Judges Shmuel Finkelman and Zvi Cohen entered the courtroom about 45 minutes after

Postal strike to intensify today

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The post office sanctions will intensify today, with workers taking several hours off work for "meetings" and disruptions in deliveries are also expected.

The public-sector jurists, who held a two-day warning strike last week, will also introduce work sanctions today. They will not receive the public nor answer telephone calls, and they will refuse to appear in court.

The 320 Jewish employees of the West Bank Civil administration today will resume the sanctions they

began two weeks ago. The main victims of the sanctions will be Arab workers and students who will be unable to secure permits to cross the bridges into Jordan.

All the sanctions are in support of wage demands and in protest at the "dragging out" of the work-agreement negotiations. The strikers may be joined during the week by many other public-sector unions that declared work disputes two weeks ago. Union leaders have warned that they will begin industrial action if the agreements are not finalized this week.

Two Soviet deserters reach London from Afghanistan

LONDON (AP). — Two Soviet soldiers who deserted to the rebels in Afghanistan have reached Britain and have been allowed to stay here for a year, the Home Office announced on Saturday night.

The two men, identified as Sergeant Igor Rhykov, 22, and Private Oleg Khlan, 21, arrived here secretly last Thursday after appealing in writing to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for asylum, a communiqué said.

It was the first time Soviet deserters from Afghanistan have reached Europe. Some have managed to get to the U.S.

They were in a hospital "somewhere in the London area," being treated for the effect of being forced to take opium continuously during the one year they were in the capti-

ty of the Afghan rebels, said Lord Bethell, who worked on their behalf.

Bethell, who is a member of the European Parliament and a prominent campaigner for human rights in the Communist block, told the Associated Press the men would remain in the hospital for some weeks overcoming disorientation and the effects of being chained for a long time.

He said the opium was forced on them to keep them docile, since the rebels do not have prison facilities.

Meanwhile, Pakistan lodged a strong protest with Afghanistan yesterday over an air attack in which it said bombs fell on both sides of the border, killing six Afghan children.

The incident, claimed to be the 28th border violation this year, occurred early on Saturday when two MiG jet fighters rocketed a group of Afghans who were approaching the Kabul government checkpoint at Torkham to cross into Pakistan.

Public-sector talks to be resumed Discord in trade unions over wage negotiations

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The secretaries of public-sector trade unions failed to agree yesterday on a common negotiating stand during a meeting at Histadrut headquarters here.

The meeting was called to prepare a united Histadrut stand in advance of wage agreement talks with public-sector employers, which will resume at 8:30 a.m. tomorrow. The two sides have set aside tomorrow, Wednesday and Thursday, if necessary, and intend to make intensive efforts to finalize the agreement by the weekend.

Histadrut trade union department chairman Haim Haberfeld and Treasury Director-General Nissim Baruch conferred by telephone yesterday and scheduled tomorrow's meeting.

Histadrut trade union department chairman Haim Haberfeld and Treasury Director-General Nissim Baruch were due to confer last night to set a date for the next session.

One Histadrut participant at yesterday's meeting ascribed the failure to find a consensus to "different approaches among the union secretaries due to their specific problems." The prime bone of contention is the Treasury's offer of a substantial wage hike in new grade scales, on condition that the margin allowed the unions for independent negotiating be drastically limited.

While the major unions, such as the 50,000-member Clerks' Union and the 60,000-member Civil Servants Union, are willing to accept a reduced margin for the unions, many of the professional unions oppose such an arrangement. Prominent among the latter unions are the social workers, the jurists and the academics.

The salaries of the professionals are paid on the basis of special grade scales, while the clerks and civil servants are paid on the basis of the unified grade scale.

Civil Servants Union secretary Reuven Ben-Ami suggested during the meeting that the professionals consider returning to the unified grade scale, which they left several years ago. The civil servants and the clerks were joined in their willingness to accept reduced union margins by the technicians, the engineers and the biochemists and microbiologists.

One source predicted that the alignment of the largest unions would win the day, and that the Histadrut would accept reduced margins in exchange for an early agreement. At the moment, the Histadrut is demanding a 20 per cent average wage increase in the grade scales and an 8 per cent marginal increase to be negotiated by the unions themselves. The professionals are holding out for a marginal 10 per cent, while the Treasury has offered between 3 and 5 per cent.

Other topics discussed yesterday were the addition of extra grades at the top end of the scale — the Histadrut has demanded an extra five grades, while the Treasury is offering one — employers' subsidization of refresher courses, last year's agreement-breaking doctors' settlement, and the revision of tax brackets.

Haberfeld told *The Jerusalem Post* that the Histadrut "will not sign any agreement on any matter" until the government agrees to the revision of tax brackets. The Histadrut is demanding that brackets, as well as welfare points and child allowances be revised by 100 per cent whenever the cost-of-living increment is paid.

Haberfeld stressed that the Histadrut is determined to reach an agreement this week. He pointed out that for many unions the mandatory two-week cooling-off period after the declaration of a work dispute expires this week. If an agreement is not reached, the labour situation will be "very serious," he said.

Army radio civilian journalists criticized

TV newsmen threaten new sanctions

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Journalists working for the Army Radio during the radio and TV journalists' strike were threatened yesterday with expulsion from the National Federation of Israeli Journalists.

The electronic media journalists, who began a three-day strike at midnight on Friday, told a press conference at Beit Agon in Jerusalem yesterday that the civilian journalists employed by Army Radio have been providing full news service to the station and said that this was against a previous agreement between the union and those employees.

The Army Radio normally carries the hourly news reports of Kol Yisrael. By providing its own news reports during the strike, the union

said, the Army Radio is effectively serving to break the journalists' strike.

(Army Radio yesterday did not broadcast its own hourly news bulletin, as it did on the first day of the strike. But it did continue its normal practice of breaking into its programmes with news flashes and also broadcast its two daily hour-long newscasts.)

Yitzhak Alon, chairman of the Jerusalem radio journalists, also charged that he was censored in an interview which he gave yesterday morning to Army Radio. In the pre-recorded interview, Alon had expressed dissatisfaction over Army Radio news broadcasts, but his comments were edited out, he said.

The strike is to end at midnight tonight, but between then and next Sunday — the scheduled date for

commencement of electioneering broadcasts — listeners and viewers can expect any number of programme disruptions.

Sunday is the deadline for the Finance Ministry to make a "concrete decision" on raising salaries of electronic media journalists to the level of newspaper reporters' wages.

The radio and TV journalists also say that they get only 30 per cent of a salary after 35 years of employment as a pension, compared to 70 per cent in the print media.

The strikers indicated they are considering blacking out election coverage and promoting union membership for Educational Television journalists. Educational TV was not on strike yesterday, and union membership forms were circulated among its journalists.

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EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S

The New York Times

THE WEEK IN REVIEW

INSIDE TODAY

HOME NEWS

New rooms at TA lock-up for attorneys, detainees

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Detainees at the Tel Aviv police lock-up will now be able to meet privately with their attorneys, following yesterday's opening of four meeting rooms for this purpose.

Meeting one's attorney in intimate, efficient and comfortable facilities is one of a citizen's basic rights, and until now, we could not provide detainees with this right," outgoing Tel Aviv police commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeman said.

Turgeman was accompanied by Nitzav David Kraus, who yesterday assumed his post as the Tel Aviv district's police commander.

Until now, only one small room without a telephone was available for detainees and their attorneys. At times, up to 10 attorneys and their clients crowded into the room, while others sat in the corridor and discussed their cases. Tel Aviv attorneys have been complaining for years about the inadequate conditions.

Israel Bar Association President David Libai, who attended the ceremony, said that he stressed to Turgeman the urgent need for lawyer-client meeting rooms.

The rooms, which have desks, will be furnished by the bar association with curtains, a library of law books and telephones, Libai said.

Libai said he also complained to Turgeman about the crowded conditions in the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court.

Eitan defends his olive oil against critics

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Sales of former Chief of Staff Rabin's olive oil have dropped in the last few days following reports that the oil is not as pure or as natural as he claims.

The standards institute randomly checked bottles of his product taken off shelves of different supermarkets several times, and each time the olive oil has received high marks," Eitan told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Yisrael Baharal, the distributor of Eitan's olive oil, said that he believes the negative reports in the magazine *Kahol Kasher* were printed to "settle accounts with Eitan."

Baharal also said that Eitan is rebuilding his press according to the specifications of the Health Ministry. He said the required changes were minor, such as building a wall

Two men attack, rob church official

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Police yesterday continued their hunt for two men who on Friday attacked and robbed Archimandrite Anthony Grabbe, head of the White Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, as he was returning from Amman on the Jericho-Jerusalem road.

The highwaymen got away with some 200,000 Jordanian dinars and \$5,000, worth a total of some 15115 million, police reported.

The robbery took place as Grabbe was making his way to Jerusalem in the mission's large black limousine, accompanied by his chauffeur and accountant. Two men, dressed in Israeli Defence Forces uniforms, set up a road block and ordered the passengers out at gunpoint, police reported.

Police said the two men forced the three into a stolen IDF vehicle, made them lie down on the floor of the car, and then drove into the hills where they fired into the air. The robbers then returned to the limousine, in which they made their getaway.

The archimandrite, who suffered a gash and a minor concussion, was taken to Hadassah Hospital, Ein Karem, for out-patient treatment.

The other two passengers were not injured.

Police believe the robbers intended to ambush a car carrying a shipment of currency for East Jerusalem money changers but waylaid the archimandrite by mistake.



Archimandrite Grabbe (Barzilay)

Beersheba maternity department to be enlarged

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — Kupat Holim Clalit is to expand the maternity ward at its Soroka Hospital here. The department, which holds the national record for births — 8,000 per year — is not big enough, and last week premature Bealim twins had to be taken to the Hillel Yaffe Hospital in Hadera because of lack of space.

The department announced recently that its first *in vitro* (test-tube) fertilization had been performed and the baby is due in nine months time.

The expansion of the unit, at a cost of some 15600 million, will include a 30-bed intensive-care unit for premature babies.

Conference opens today on Jewish education

World-wide increases in intermarriage and the distancing of Jews from their heritage place Jewish survival at risk, World Zionist Organization Executive chairman Arye Dulin said yesterday in advance of the world leadership conference for Jewish education which opens today at the Jerusalem Hilton.

Conference chairman Morton Mandel, a member of the Jewish Agency board of governors, told the press that today he sees Jewish education as much more fundamental to Jewish survival than he did five years ago.

In addition to 80 local participants, the conference will be attended by more than 180 overseas delegates, 75 per cent of whom are Jewish leaders and 25 per cent educators.

Hurvitz would cut standard of living

TEL AVIV. — Yigael Hurvitz, who is running on his own Ometz list, believes the country's economic problems could be resolved if the standard of living were lowered by 5 to 8 per cent — back to its 1980's level. That was the year he served as finance minister. (See story, page 8)

Youths demonstrate at Likud headquarters

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Dozens of youths about to begin compulsory army service demonstrated opposite Likud campaign headquarters here, carrying placards which read: "I am about to join the army and I vote Alignment — which camp do I belong to?"

The protest referred to Likud election propaganda which divides the country into the "national camp" (Likud supporters) and the non-national camp.

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Police and Border Police intervened yesterday to remove protesting turkey breeders, who tried to force their way into the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem. The breeders are demanding the removal of the subsidy on frozen beef and other government assistance for their financially troubled branch. The rowdy demonstration calmed down when a delegation was permitted to enter the office and meet with director Mattityahu Shmuelovitz. He promised that Prime Minister Shamir would meet with the breeders by the end of the week.

12 years jail for killing money-changer

HAIFA (Itim). — The district court here yesterday sentenced a local man to 12 years in prison for beating an elderly money-changer to death during a robbery. David Sabag, 23, was found guilty of manslaughter, kidnapping, and robbery of Ze'ev Marco.

He was said to have taken \$4,800 and \$88,000 in cash from the old man. The prosecutor asked for the maximum sentence on the grounds of the brutality of the crime, which was motivated by greed.

The defence noted that Sabag had been involved in transporting

W. Galilee without MDA emergency services

NAHARIYA (Itim). — The 200,000 residents of Western Galilee have been without Magen David Adom emergency services for two days, following the MDA management's closure of the service because of large debts owed by the local authorities.

The government hospital and the police in Nahariya are concerned about what will happen in the event of road accidents or chronically ill patients. There have been three

Zamir asks police to investigate voting fraud

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir has asked the police to investigate instances of fraud in the local authority elections in October, 1983.

Complaints made to the State Comptroller led to an investigation which uncovered instances where voters used identity cards of deceased persons whose names were still on the electoral register or of people who were out of the country.

The investigators compared the electoral register with the population registry and the Border Police

Police officers reprimanded for 'advising' suspects

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Two Tel Aviv district police officers were reprimanded a few days ago by Commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeman for advising two detainees to fire their attorney and hire another one.

The detainees were arrested last September in connection with smuggling cocaine from Colombia to Israel.

The two officers, a superintendent and an inspector, advised the suspects that their attorney, Meir Ziv, was not a good attorney for handling this type of case, according to the complaint Ziv filed with Israel Bar Association President David Libai.

Libai then filed a complaint with Turgeman, who ordered an investigation.

New commander for northern police

NAZARETH (Itim). — Commander Rahamim Haddad yesterday took up his position as commander of the northern police district. He will work with his predecessor, Commander Yitzhak Eran, throughout the week, with the formal changeover scheduled for Friday.

Haddad's new appointment was part of a major reshuffling of senior police personnel.

Chief Inspector David Ben-Yehuda, who has served as police spokesman in Galilee for the past three years, is moving to national police headquarters in Jerusalem, where he will be an information officer.

Quarrel stops preface to general's new book

Atuf (res.) Avraham Adon's new book *The Ink Flag* appears without a preface, apparently because of an argument over how to refer to the Irgun Zvai Leumi (IZL) and Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Lehi) undergrounds.

Labour Party Secretary-General Haim Bar-Lev, a former chief of staff and cabinet minister, wrote the preface and referred to the two groups as "dissident" organizations.

The Defence Ministry's publishing house, Ma'arachot, opposed the term and suggested the reference be changed to "underground organizations."

Bar-Lev agreed to the change, but in the event the preface was omitted altogether. It was distributed on a separate sheet at a Tel Aviv press conference to mark the book's publication yesterday.

Special postal services cost 11.3% more

Charges for special international postal services went up by 11.3 per cent this morning.

Express mail to the U.S., weighing up to half a kilogram, costs \$5.425, and up to 1 kg. costs \$7.595. Each additional kilo costs \$2.170.

Facsimile services to Europe cost \$1.996 per page, to North America \$2.495 and to other countries \$2.995 per page. (Itim)

Court allows itself to view video-tapes

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The local district court ruled yesterday by a 2:1 majority that judges can be assumed not to be influenced by media reports of cases in which they are involved. The matter came up in a pre-trial hearing in the case of two men accused of rape.

The prosecution asked for video-tapes of the defendants' statements to the police and of their reconstruction of the crime to be shown to the court to determine their admissibility.

Presiding Judge Uri Shostman ruled, with support from his colleague Haim Adar, that it was permissible for them to see the tapes without danger of their being influenced regarding the case itself.

In a dissenting view Judge Zvi Hacohen argued that there was a danger of judges being influenced and that the *sub-judice* rules should also apply to judges. He argued that a judge who remanded a suspect should not try him.

Shostman disagreed, suggesting that if it were so, all court reporting prior to the verdict would be improper. He said that if a statement to the police could be brought before a court in writing, there was absolutely no reason not to permit the viewing of tapes to the same effect.

Orgad will decide on teachers' parity bonus

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad will decide whether teachers should receive the parity bonus. Education Ministry officials yesterday informed Secondary School Teachers Association chairman Shoshana Bayer.

Bayer said she hopes her union will receive the minister's answer in a day or two so they can decide whether or not the school year can end without disruptions on time.

The union declared a labour dispute three weeks ago over the parity bonus issue.

Five suspects held for stealing cleaning goods

Five young people were caught by police early yesterday morning loading allegedly stolen cleaning material onto a truck in Jerusalem's Nahlat quarter.

They had apparently stolen the goods from three shops minutes before police arrived on the scene.

Three of the suspects are known to the police, and have been detained while the investigation continues. (Itim)

President calls for labour scene restraint

HADERA (Itim). — President Chaim Herzog called for restraint in labour relations when he visited the Hadera power station yesterday, noting it was important to know just where to draw the line in labour disputes. Electric Corporation workers have declared a work dispute.

Electrical workers' national chairman Yoram Oberkovitch told the president that the corporation's workers were proud of their productive labour. He hoped that the president would view them as the men who produce the country's power and "not just a bunch of people receiving free electricity."

Sports

Thrilling call to Perkis

By JACK LEON
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israel's young tennis star Shahar Perkis, fresh from winning all three of his matches in the Davis Cup tie against Poland here, left for England yesterday to compete as a direct entry in the high-stakes \$100,000 Grand Prix event in Bristol starting today.

Perkis, 21, could hardly believe his ears when he got a weekend telephone call yesterday from the Association of Tennis Professionals' office in Paris, informing him that, as the Davis Cup match prevented his scheduled participation in Bristol's qualifying tournament, he was being given "special exempt" status and so would go straight through to the main 32-draw of the celebrated pre-Wimbledon meet.

"I was staggered by the news, as, until now, I had had to qualify in all tournaments abroad with prize money of over \$25,000," an elated Perkis told *The Post* on Saturday night. The popular Hadera teen was last week accepted as a full member of the ATP by virtue of having climbed to 15th place in its world singles rankings. Bristol will be the richest event in which he has so far competed on the pro circuit.

Discussing Israel's semi-final cup tie against Switzerland next month in either Jerusalem or Ramat Hasharon, Perkis said: "Switzerland have a far stronger team than Poland and it will be a tremendously tough match, but we have a 50-50 chance of beating them on our home courts in July."

The Swiss No. 1 Henri Günthardt is currently 31st in the world in the singles rankings and eighth in doubles. The country's other top players, Jakob Hlasek and Roland Stadler, are respectively 89th and 115th in the singles standings. Switzerland have won all their three Davis Cup ties to date against Israel.

Israel's victory over Poland was worth \$16,000 in prize money from the \$1m sponsorship of the Davis Cup by the Nissan Electric Company of Japan.

Also leaving for England yesterday were David Schneider and Amos Mansdorf, who are taking part in this week's Wimbledon qualifying tournament at Roehampton, near London. Perkis would also have played at Roehampton had he not been accepted for Bristol.

Germans win

LENS, France (AP). — Rudi Voller scored a goal in each half and led West Germany to a narrow 2-1 win over Romania in Group II of the European Soccer Championships yesterday.

The Werder Bremen striker scored after 25 and 85 minutes, with Coras netting for Romania 27 seconds into the second half.

It was the first victory in the tournament for Germany, the defending champions, following last week's 4-0 draw against Portugal and boosted their chances of reaching the semi-finals.

In Belgrade, national team coach Tudor Velichovic fell ill and was taken to hospital after Yugoslavia's 3-0 defeat by Denmark in their European Soccer Championship tie in Lyons on Saturday night, the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* reported.

Politika quoted team doctor Velichovic as saying Velichovic was in hospital because of "overstress."

Baseball: Saturday

NEW YORK (AP). — In a late National League game on Saturday, New York got a combination six-hitter by Dwight Gooden and Jesse Orosco to defeat the St. Louis Cardinals 4-1. The Mets extended their string of consecutive wins without allowing an earned run to 30.

Montreal 3, Pittsburgh 2, 11 innings; Philadelphia 8, Chicago 3; Cincinnati 2, Atlanta 1; New York 4, St. Louis 1; Houston 7, Los Angeles 6; San Francisco 6, San Diego 3.

American League
Toronto 7, Boston 6; New York 8, Baltimore 3; Oakland 6, Chicago 4; Detroit 6, White Sox 4; Minnesota 6, Kansas City 1; California 6, Cleveland 2; Texas 5, Seattle 1.

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Poles cast ballots despite Solidarity boycott appeal

WARSAW (Reuters). — A steady stream of voters yesterday took part in Poland's first national elections since the Solidarity crisis, despite appeals by underground leaders of the banned Solidarity free trade union for a boycott of the poll.

A march called by Solidarity activists in Warsaw in support of free elections did not materialize although masses preached at churches by priests known for their hostility to Communism were more heavily attended than usual.

The official PAP news agency reported several hours after voting

began at 6 a.m. that the turnout was higher than the authorities expected in some regions including Gdansk, where opposition to Communist rule is strong.

Government spokesman Jerzy Urban said more than half the country had voted by mid-afternoon with several hours of polling left.

The government indicated it hoped at least 70 per cent of the 26 million electorate would have voted in the election for 110,000 carefully-screened local government councillors by the time polling station closed at 8 p.m.

The authorities would regard participation on this scale as a satisfactory endorsement of the policies of socialist renewal and reform they have followed since Solidarity was suppressed under martial law in 1981.

Urban said the only trouble reported to the authorities was a demonstration by 1,000 people chanting anti-government slogans at the southern steel town of Nowa Huta, which is a Solidarity stronghold.

"I do not know whether the police had to intervene to disperse them or not," he told journalists.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was among opposition militants pledged in advance not to cast his ballot. He instead attended a mass in Gdansk for fugitive Solidarity militant Bogdan Lis, who was captured on June 8. A priest at the church said that thousands attended the service.

Lis was a member of the union's clandestine provisional coordinating commission, which urged the boycott and called the elections a sham that would perpetuate political oppression.

Couple dies, embryos live

LONDON (AP). — A couple who died in a plane crash left two frozen test-tube embryos in an Australian medical centre, posing a unique moral and legal problem. *The Mail* reported yesterday.

It said the existence of the embryos raises the question of whether they should be destroyed or raised to maturity and receive a share of the couple's estate.

The paper said Mario and Elsa Rios had left the embryos at the Queen Victoria Medical Centre in Melbourne, a renowned in vitro fertilization centre, where they had come in June 1981 to try to have a baby.

The implantation in 40-year-old Mrs. Rios's womb failed, but two other embryos were frozen and the couple said they would come back to try again. *The Mail* said.

But they were killed when their light plane, with Rios at the controls, crashed in his native Chile last year, the paper said.

It said the Melbourne medical team had no idea until a few days ago of the accident, and is now seeking advice from its medical ethics board.

The Mail said the affair "has brought doctors face to face with the most agonizing dilemma predicted by opponents of the test-tube baby boom."

Test-tube babies are created by impregnating a female egg in a glass dish and then implanting it in the womb of the mother-to-be.

Zhao calls European tour 'complete success'

PEKING (AP). — Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang returned home yesterday from a six-nation tour of Western Europe that he described as a "complete success."

Uruguay's military rulers detain opposition leader

MONTEVIDEO (Reuters). — The detention yesterday of opposition leader Wilson Ferreira Aldunate on his return from exile has posed fresh problems for Uruguay's military rulers, already facing a growing tide of anti-government sentiment.

More than 70,000 people turned out onto the streets of Montevideo to welcome the returning politician, despite a heavy military presence and repeated government warnings to keep away.

Only news that Ferreira Aldunate's ship had changed course to another port along the coast dispersed crowds. But when it finally docked in Montevideo, people regrouped, chanting anti-government slogans and honking car horns.

The 65-year-old politician, chosen by the opposition Blanco Party as its candidate in presidential elections scheduled for November, was arrested with his son when the Uruguayan navy intercepted his ship on a crossing from Argentina.

Blanco Party sources said Ferreira Aldunate, who fled the country 11 years ago when the military seized power, was being held at a barracks

in Flores, 180 kilometres northeast of Montevideo.

The military had banned Ferreira Aldunate from standing in the elections and warned he would be arrested upon returning on charges of links with the defunct Tupamaro guerrilla group.

The government, anxious to prevent a return to the violence of the Tupamaro campaign in the early 1970s, have made the November elections conditional on an agreement with political parties giving the military a permanent say in security matters.

The three legal opposition parties have rejected the demand and talks on the elections have been deadlocked for months.

Big voter turnout on Seychelles island

VICTORIA, Seychelles (AP). — Eighty-nine per cent of registered voters — 31,000 people — turned out at polling stations Saturday on the main Seychelles island of Mahe for a one-candidate presidential election, officials said yesterday.

Downed Korean jet did spy, says intelligence magazine

LONDON (AP). — The South Korean airliner shot down by Soviet fighters last September was on an intelligence mission, according to a magazine circulating among the London diplomatic corps.

The Boeing 747, which crashed into the sea off Okhotsk killing all 269 people aboard, carried no eavesdropping electronics of its own but was steered deliberately into Soviet airspace so that western intelligence could monitor the resulting Soviet radar and electronic signals, said *Defence Aache* magazine.

A close-orbiting Ferret spy satellite and the just-launched Challenger space shuttle were used for monitoring, it claimed.

The magazine said the entry within Soviet radar range of a U.S. RC-135 military aircraft, with a similar profile to the airliner and just before it, was aimed at getting the Soviets to turn on their defence radars and critical communications links between the Far East and Moscow. It said the military plane would then fly out of the area while the orbiting spacecraft would monitor the Soviet signals concentrating on

the airliner.

The magazine said that American authorities assumed that once the Soviets identified the airliner as a civilian plane, they would not dare to fire on it.

In Washington, a State Department spokeswoman said the department had no specific comment on the British report. However, she noted that at the time of the incident last September, American officials had denied there was any connection between the flight of the Korean airliner and U.S. military or intelligence-gathering operations.

The Soviet Union has claimed all along that the Korean airliner was spying. Most western experts said they believe it strayed accidentally when its navigational system malfunctioned and that the spacecraft positions were a coincidence.

Quake shakes Greek isle

ATHENS (AP). — A strong earthquake measuring 5.7 on the open-ended Richter scale yesterday shook the eastern Aegean island of Chios, causing "slight panic" but no damage or injuries, police said.



John Turner acknowledges applause after he was elected Liberal Party leader and prime minister-designate of Canada to succeed Pierre Trudeau. (UPI telephoto)

Canadian Liberals elect Turner to succeed Trudeau

OTTAWA (AP). — Former finance minister John Turner, who quit Pierre Elliott Trudeau's cabinet nine years ago, was chosen on Saturday to succeed Trudeau as prime minister. Turner swamped two other candidates on the second ballot by delegates to a Liberal Party convention, getting 1,862 votes to 1,368 for Energy Minister Jean Chretien and 192 for Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston.

The new leader will take over as prime minister once Trudeau makes his resignation official. The date for the transition has not been set, but it is expected in about two weeks.

There has been speculation that the Liberals might call an election soon after Trudeau's departure to

take advantage of a recent surge in public opinion polls. After trailing the Progressive Conservatives of Brian Mulroney by more than 20 points, the Liberals suddenly jumped to a slight lead after Trudeau announced he was leaving office.

Turner, a Toronto-based corporate lawyer who sits on the boards of some of Canada's largest companies, tried Friday to combat the impression that he would move the Liberal government sharply to the right.

"Whatever we do, however we do it, it will never be done at the expense of the unemployed, the poor, the aged, the sick or the disabled," Turner said.

Trudeau, 64, announced in February that he would step down as soon as his party chose a new leader.

Sikhs don black arm bands, hold rallies throughout India

NEW DELHI (AP). — Sikhs staged rallies across India yesterday to protest the storming of the Golden Temple by troops, while President Zail Singh for the first time defended the military action.

Nine Sikh soldiers also reportedly mutinied in Bijnor, 140 kilometres northeast of the Indian capital. The soldiers, all new recruits, fled towards Amritsar's Golden Temple, 400 kilometres northwest of Bijnor, in an army truck carrying weapons.

The United News of India said security forces were alerted and a search began.

An estimated 5,000 Sikh soldiers have rebelled in nine Indian states including Punjab since the assault on the temple complex June 4 to 7. Military sources said 103 deserters were killed in clashes with army and police pursuers.

As many as one million Sikhs

throughout India wore black turbans and arm bands to mark "Martyrs' Day" in commemoration of the more than 1,000 militants killed in clashes with troops at the temple. According to reliable military and police sources, 220 soldiers also were killed. The government says 492 Sikh extremists and 84 troops died in the assault.

The protesting Sikhs staged rallies at shrines in Punjab and other states, hailing slain fundamentalist leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale as a "martyr" and chanting anti-government slogans, such as "Khalistan" and "Lahore is our capital."

In some towns, demonstrators demanded an independent Sikh homeland to be called "Khalistan," or "Land of the Pure."

Officials here said as many as 350 protesters were detained across the nation for violating bans on public assembly.

Iran denies truce violation charge

LONDON (Reuters). — Iran yesterday denied its forces had shelled residential areas of Iraq in violation of a ceasefire agreement, and counter-charged that Iraq had shelled an Iranian border town.

Iran's chief of staff was quoted by the Iranian national news agency Irna as denying Iraqi assertions that Iranian forces on Saturday shelled civilian areas of the Iraqi border village of Sayyed Sadeq.

The chief of staff, Brigadier-General Qassemi Zaher-Nezhad,

countered that the Iraqis had "rained artillery fire" on the southern Iranian town of Abadan despite the June 12 ceasefire agreement.

The Iraqi allegations were aimed solely at justifying Iraqi attacks on Abadan, the agency quoted him as saying.

Iran and Iraq, at war since 1980, said last week they had agreed to a request by UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar not to fire on residential areas across the border.

Iranian defectors still seek refuge

LUXOR (Reuters). — Eight Iranians who flew a twin-engine F-27 Fokker Friendship plane to Luxor on Friday after first trying to land in Arab states across the Gulf from Iran.

Egyptian Foreign Ministry sources have said that the Iranians were likely to go on to Europe or Latin America.

Diplomats here said it would be awkward for Egypt to accept the Iranians since it is involved in peace efforts to end the 45-month-old Iran-Iraq war.

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Moslems discuss ways to stop conversions

KUWAIT (Reuters). — More than 150 Moslem scientists and scholars from 38 nations opened a two-day conference here yesterday to discuss ways to help needy Moslems and stop them from converting to Christianity, a spokesman for the organizers said.

The Arabic daily *Al Watan* quoted Abdul Rahman Sumait, a founder member of the International Islamic Charity Establishment which is holding the conference, as saying Mos-

lems throughout the world were "succumbing to missionary pressure and zeal."

Missionaries spent \$1 billion on advertisements alone, and large sums were given to new converts, he was quoted as saying.

"About three million Indonesians, 250,000 Bangladeshis and a large number of African Moslems have become Christians," he said, adding that efforts should be made to reverse this trend.

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On the border of collapse

The Post's Liora Moriel reports from Hevel Shalom, the border region whose farmers face seemingly insoluble problems.

THE FEELING among the 200 families in the Hevel Shalom agricultural area near the border with Egypt is uniform: depression. The six moshavim set up by the Agricultural Ministry and the Jewish Agency with great fanfare three years ago just inside the so-called Green Line were to be Europe's winter garden. Today, the farmers are destroying tons of fruits and vegetables that have no market value anywhere.

"It's a slow death, living here," says Prosper Ben-Avi of Moshav Pri-Gan. "You have to be crazy to live here." Three families have already left the moshav since 1981, when it was moved to this region from the Yamit area, which was returned to Egypt because of the Camp David accords.

The Ministry of Agriculture spokesman, Naftali Yaniv, sees the economic foundation of the moshavim - namely, tomatoes for export - as to blame for the current situation wherein each family owes an average of \$5 million to various farmers' associations. "Ra'anan Weitz of the Jewish Agency planned the area in this way against the Agriculture Ministry's advice," says Yaniv. "We opposed establishing the moshavim on the basis of tomatoes: this is the main if not the only problem facing them today." According to Yaniv, Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper has set up a committee to investigate the possibility of re-planning the area and "experts are already in the field, gathering data for the committee."

Ra'anan Weitz, the "father" of Hevel Shalom, stands behind his "baby." "The idea was mine, it's true, and I'm proud of it and happy with it," he says. "The problem is that a government has arisen in Israel that has managed things so that people make more money on the stock market than in agriculture."

Weitz says that the Hevel Shalom region is blessed with three major advantages, and could easily conquer a sizeable chunk of the giant tomato market. Europe alone, he notes, imports ten million tons a year. The advantages he sees are the region's climate, high level of agricultural R&D and the farmers themselves. "They are intelligent workers who can quickly adapt the latest knowledge to their farming."

The farmers agree. They say that they work hard and well, and get bumper crops. However, they have no market for their produce because there is no national agricultural plan. "Each region should grow different things at different seasons," says one, who spent this year travelling abroad and therefore, as he puts it, is better off than his hard-working neighbours.

"Some of our farmers went down to the Arava for a visit," says Prosper's wife, Tirza. "They returned completely demoralized. There's nothing we grow that they don't." One problem is that while there are ceilings on produce, they are rarely enforced. Thus, Hevel Shalom farmers claim, their counterparts in other areas grow tomatoes in the winter also, and then market them even though this is not planned.

"Three weeks ago, we got \$4,000 for a carton of tomatoes. Today, we barely get \$180."

Pinhas Mosko, the deputy director of the southern region for both the Agriculture Ministry and the Jewish Agency, says that both have done everything possible for the farmers but that the problem lies on the

national level, and the problem, as he puts it, is that "there is a price for money in Israel."

THE PRICE of money these days, in Hevel Shalom, is 20 per cent per month. On outstanding debts of five million shekels, this comes out to a million shekels a month, says Natti Miller, a member of the action committee the farmers recently set up to find solutions to their problems. "Who can make that kind of money?" We know that it wouldn't be easy living here when we arrived," he says. "We knew the security problems and the distance from everything. This was a price we were willing to pay. But to face hardships, and not even live like human beings is an unbearable situation."

The problems of security are not widely publicized, the farmers say, but there are infiltrations nearly every night from Egypt. Most of the infiltrators seek work in Israel, but occasionally the reason is terror.

"Several months ago, a tractor on my tomato field uncovered a mine," says one farmer. "We called in the army, which detonated it. This is an area my children and I walk through every day."

Many of the farmers maintain that since in effect they are guarding the country's frontier, they should be treated as soldiers serving in the regular army. "We are on perpetual reserve duty," they say.

Rather than being given credit for doing a necessary job well, they add, they are ignored. They say that even Agriculture Minister Grupper confuses their area with the Katif region in the Gaza strip.

MOST OF the farmers in Hevel Shalom support the settlement policy beyond the Green Line: after all, many of them once lived or were about to live in the Sinai, or in Gaza. But they want aid to farmers to be distributed equitably to all the areas of the country.

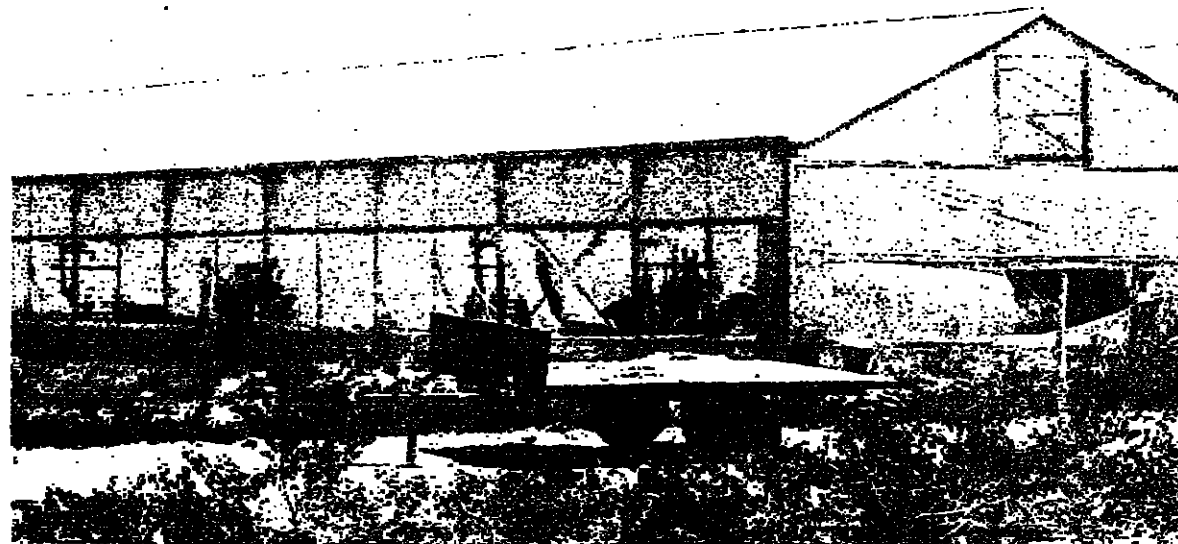
Many farmers in Hevel Shalom are angry that on the day they finally stage a mass protest - blocking the border crossing at Rafah earlier this month for eight hours with tractors - the government decided to set up five new settlements beyond the Green Line. Farms are established, they say, on unsuitable land, which is changed physically (hills flattened, for example) with special earth brought to facilitate tomato growing, while Hevel Shalom's natural attributes make it ideal for this crop. "Why set up more settlements rather than expand and strengthen those already established?" they ask. "I don't use the word 'Zionism' lightly," says Natti Miller. I came here because I thought that it'll be good for me, I believe in working the land and I love this place. And I thought that this is in the national interest to have people settled here."

"I'm not asking for favours. But I can't live on air. The Agriculture Ministry and the Jewish Agency are at odds. The Agriculture Ministry admits that the planning of the region is at fault. We want a reorganization of the region. Whatever they decide is economically profitable to grow, we'll grow with lots of work and love. Just let them tell us what this might be, and give us a five-year plan that allows us to live here."

Natti is a farmer from moshav Talmel-Yosef. All the families here are made up of at least one immigrant from an English speaking country. And none of the families, he



"I'm not asking for favours, but I can't live on air," says Natti Miller (left), a farmer from Talmel-Yosef. At right, a greenhouse in the region in need of repair.



stresses, has received any compensation whatever for their years in the Yamit area. The 15 who came to Hevel Shalom were joined by another 15 families who started from scratch like everybody else.

The farmers of Pri-Gan had also been in the Yamit area before relocating in Hevel Shalom in August 1981. In the Sinai, they lived in

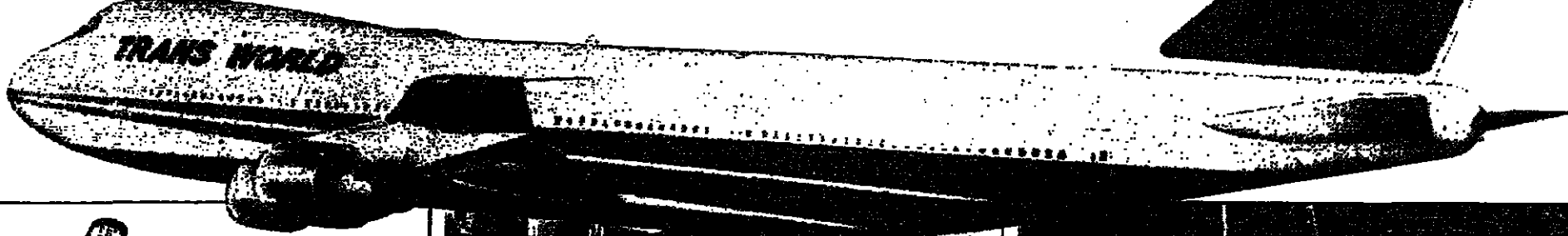
caravans but, they say, they lived better. They got no compensation. Instead, they got a new moshav.

Only the farmers of Dekel are an exception: they left the town of Yamit, received compensation and with this money and no other help set up their new moshav. The farmers of Yevul were originally in Morag, in the Katif area. The two

other moshavim are Sde-Avraham and Yated: these farmers were slated to go to the Sinai before the Camp David Accords.

Eyal Tal of Yevul is the head of the action committee that organized the border protest and which then met with Grupper and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orag in Jerusalem.

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Elections elsewhere

RANDOMALIA
Miriam Arad

UNLIKE our own, elections elsewhere are exciting. Ours matter too much. It makes too much difference who wins to call them exciting. In other words, I can hardly wait for July 23, but for November 2 I'm in no hurry. Of course, if the American presidential race were between a fiercely pro-Israel candidate and one who hated our guts, I might worry, but as it is, even the experts can't agree who is better for the Jews. So all that's left is the excitement. It's like any football match, and lasts much longer, too.

Any elections anywhere in the world - I take sides. When it's an outright baddie against goodie, as seems to happen especially in Latin American countries, I have no problem; but whatever the case, it's always more fun that way. Like the Mondale-Hart contest.

For a while, back around April, it seemed to be all over bar the shouting, with Walter Mondale winning state after state, making me feel positively cheated. I was enjoying it so. Then happily, the race was on again - and it still is, or so the Hart camp says. In case you wondered, I'm for him, for Gary Hart, and for all the most frivolous reasons too: such a nice smile he has, things like that.

Of course, he is the underdog, and that helps because, provided again it doesn't matter too much either for us or the country concerned, I'm inclined to favour the outs, the opposition, the new face. Once they are in, I don't stay loyal, though. I rooted for Giscard d'Estaing at the time. I don't remember why, but seven years later I was all for Mitterrand, who promptly rewarded me by coming to Israel on a visit.

I'm not just frivolous about elections elsewhere. I'm plain naive: I actually tend to believe the candidates' promises. Say some handsome British Liberal gets up in the marketplace, figuratively speaking, and declares he'll do away with unemployment. If he's strong on rhetoric - and given that I know precious little about the economics of unemployment in Britain - he has my vote.

An Israeli politician, on the other hand, can swear up hill and down dale that he'll cure the economy, get us out of Lebanon, make peace with Jordan - however handsome he may be, I won't believe him. I know too much about him and the economy. Lebanon, Jordan. Besides, he won't be handsome. None of our politicians are, for some reason, leaving us no choice but to vote on the issues.

THERE COULDN'T have been a better present to the city on Jerusalem Day - 20,000 abundantly blooming roses in the Wohl Rose Park near the Knesset.

The gathering included amateur and professional gardeners, members of the rose society, the Hebrew University, the Jerusalem horticulture society, the municipality gardening department chiefs, kibbutz gardeners and tourists. Also present were school and kindergarten children with their teachers, taking advantage of the sunny morning off school to visit the rose park.

Rose park director Amos Rosenthal opened the proceedings on behalf of the Jerusalem Foundation, which created the park and is responsible for its maintenance. The main speaker was Mordechai Darvish, former chief gardener and now director of the department for beautifying Jerusalem.

He welcomed many prominent guests, among them Professor Dan Sobary, director of the Hebrew University's genetics department; Dr. Michael Avi-shai, director of the Jerusalem botanical garden; Mrs. Vivienne Wohl from Geneva who, with generous financial help, enabled the creation of the national rose garden; Yitzhak Korn, director of the nurseries at the Israel Goldstein Youth Village and Mina Givon, chairwoman of the Jerusalem Horticulture Society.

Speaking on behalf of the municipality, Darvish thanked all the amateurs and professionals who, with a very limited budget, had successfully undertaken the enormous amount of work needed not only to keep tens of thousands of roses healthy and flowering, but had also maintained the many promenades and paths as well as the lawns and the artificial lake.

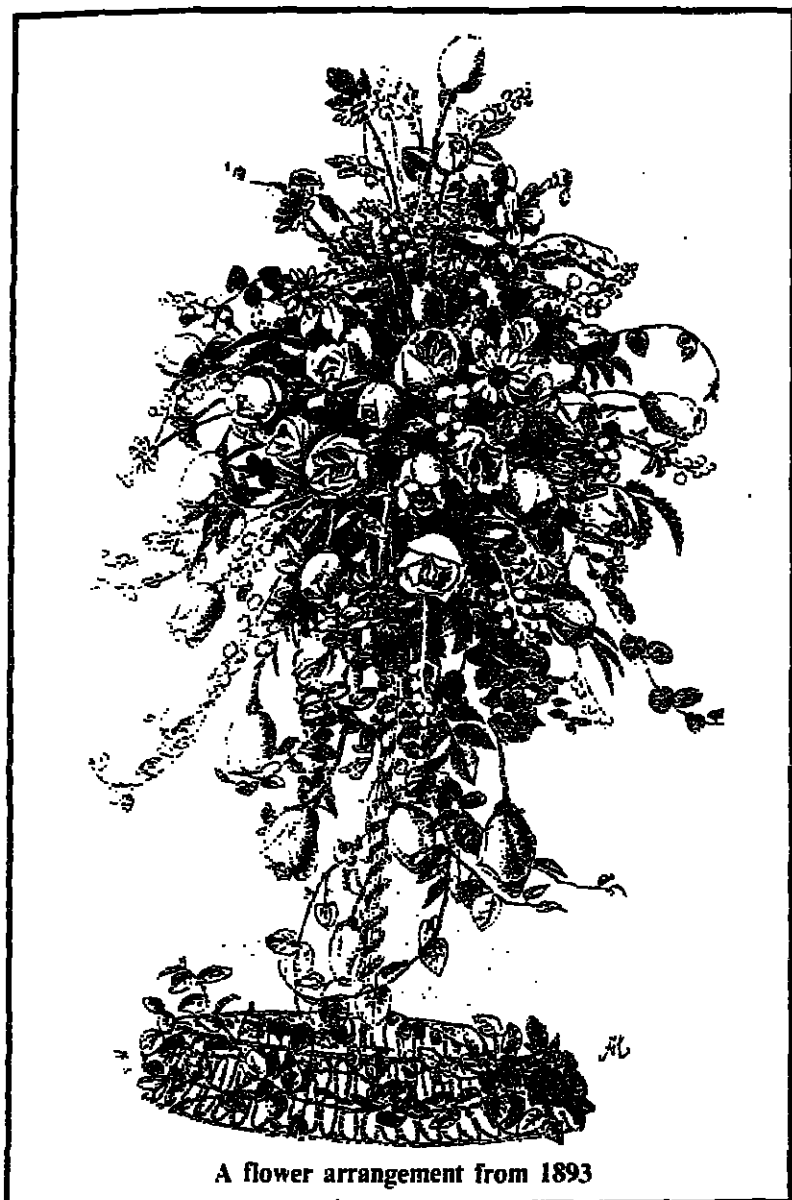
Mrs. Wohl, beginning her speech in Hebrew and continuing in English, thanked the municipality gardeners and the volunteers for their work. She was followed by Erica Shomroni, a prominent Israeli flower arranger and author of two books on the subject, who gave a much-applauded demonstration of her art. She worked with hack-gardeners of tree-bark, green branches and dried wood from the Dead Sea and using different shaped and coloured bowls and vases. Her centre-pieces, however were always roses of different species, sizes and colours.

For the children, there was a puppet-show and, for everybody an interesting display of some 50 professional flower arrangements using roses.

Amos Rosenthal and his chief assistant, Daphna Helbitz, appealed for more volunteers to help the gardeners in their difficult task of weeding, feeding, watering, cultivating, planting, dusting, spraying and pruning. Working in the rose garden

Bouquets for rose-lovers

GARDENER'S CORNER/Walter Frankl



A flower arrangement from 1893

offers amateur gardeners a wonderful opportunity to practise and enrich their knowledge of rose care.

Lets now turn to the subject of decorating with house plants. Here are some suggestions.

Erica gracilis or **heather**. *Ereike* (eric in Hebrew too) is the ancient Greek for uncultivated land; another Greek word, *eriko* means "I break it." This comes from an old tradition of "breaking" heather branches for brooms and screens against wind and sun.

Erica is also a common girl's name in Jewish families of European origin (Erica Morini, the violinist and flower-arranger Erica Shomroni mentioned above).

Erica gracilis belongs to the great botanical family of *Ericaceae*, other members are azalea, rhododendron, blueberry and cranberry. It grows abundantly on the acid (peat) soils of heaths and moors, where it forms the dominant vegetation over considerable areas. Heather, an erect, branched evergreen shrub 50 to 60 cm. high is widespread in the British Isles, Northern Europe and Western Asia.

A species called *Erica arborea* dominates great areas in the Mediterranean regions from Spain to Turkey where it sometimes grows to a height of five metres. In places like Tenerife, it grows into a tree up to seven metres high. The first plant reached Europe from South Africa in 1774. European nurseries have, like myrtle and oleander, which I recently described, forced this liberty loving plant into the limited space of a small flower pot and importers sporadically inundate the local market with potted heather. Our florists sell these lovely blooming plants with their many small, pinkish-red flowers at high prices, and the public likes and buys them.

But nobody tells them how to treat this acidity loving plant, and in most cases, the lovely *Erica* yellows and dies quickly. "Why?" asks the bewildered buyer. "Didn't I water the plant twice a week, like the florist told me? Didn't I give it superphosphate? So what went wrong?"

There are always difficulties connected with growing a naturally deep-rooting and high-growing plant in a small flower pot, but there are special rules to obey if you want to preserve heather as a potted house plant.

Grow it in poor acid soil, water sparingly and stand the plant in full sunshine. Do not pamper it, but mulch abundantly with peat moss (*kavud* in Hebrew). Don't cultivate or prune it. Pinch off the spent flower heads only. And the most important rule: use rainwater or distilled water only. Heather is a perennial. If strictly treated as a lime-hater, it may last several years.

Heather flowers in the autumn. Propagation by top-cuttings in peat moss is a difficult job and is better left to professionals.

Selenicereus grandiflorus. This cactus plant is better known by its common name Queen of the Night (*malkat leila* in Hebrew). The botanical name derives from the ancient Greek *selen* which means moon and the genus name *cereus* is common to all pillar-like cacti.

The homelands of this thorny, high-climbing plant are Jamaica, Cuba, Haiti and Mexico. In Israel it is mostly seen as an outdoor climber near a wall or a high fence, but you can also grow it as a potted indoor plant on a sunny windowsill.

The best soil mixture for the queen is red soil, sand and gravel in equal parts. You may use vermiculite instead of sand for better moisture conservation, and instead of ordinary gravel you can use tuff-holagol pebbles for their neutral pH.

For growing *selenicereus* in pots, you need a 40 to 50 cm. stand or frame to support the climbing branches interlaced and tied to them.

From June to July, 20 to 30 cm. long dark yellow flower sprouts appear, which open at night with a strong vanilla scent. A big white funnel closes and wilts next morning before sunrise. The shiny, egg-shaped fruit, an attractive yellowish-red colour, is edible and remains on the plant for a long period.

During growth and especially during blooming, the plant should be watered abundantly, but in winter you should reduce watering to once every 10 to 15 days.

To propagate the *selenicereus*, cut short pieces, let them dry for a couple of days and then insert them temporarily into flower pots filled with sand or vermiculite.

Hibiscus rosa sinensis (same name in English, *hibiscus shini* in Hebrew). Here too we have a plant which, in its place of origin (China and Hawaii), grows to a height of some 3 to 5 metres, but it can be treated as a house plant in medium-sized flowerpots.

In its hybrid forms it may be considered a tropical hollyhock with great exotic dramatic blooms in white, yellow, pink, red, orange and blueish-purple, appearing in single or full (double) blossoms.

In conditions of good fertility and moisture the foliage is luxurious, but it sears at the first hint of frost.

Always prune in late winter or early spring to keep the bush open to sunlight. *Hibiscus* is an old Roman name. Linnaeus (1707-78) added the genus name *rosa-sinensis* which alludes to his land of origin, China.

This decorative flower shrub became increasingly popular in Europe as an indoor plant for a sunny windowsill. It's a pity that Israeli nurseries don't try to grow and sell potted *hibiscus* plants, since they can live 20 years or more if kept small by regular pruning.

Hibiscus thrives best in a larger-sized flower pot, tin or bucket. A ready mixed garden soil, available at nurseries and garden centres, is best. You can mix it yourself, using the following ingredients in equal parts: red soil, compost peat, sand or vermiculite and a handful of medium tuff hogolan.

Regular watering and fortnightly feeding with a liquid fertilizer are required in spring, summer and autumn. In winter you should stop fertilizing and water only slightly. Propagation is by stem cuttings in late spring; repotting should also be done in spring. Spraying with an insecticide (malathion or sano gan) against aphids and other harmful insects.

A feast of culture in honour of Tel Aviv

CURTAIN CALL/Marsha Pomerantz

ANYONE who isn't yet sodden with culture from the Israeli Festival in Jerusalem, or anyone who was too lazy or too poor to trek up the hill for it will have another chance, starting Wednesday, on the coast.

The occasion is a week-long celebration of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the new city of Tel Aviv. Ironically enough, these festivities take place in the refurbished old city of Jaffa.

This time it's nearly all Israelis performing - many of them students or fringe groups, with four major outdoor productions planned, and seven more intimate evenings at Hasmita, the cafe-theatre. The events are planned and supported by the city's cultural events department.

Among the outdoor productions is Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*, presented by the opera department of the Tel Aviv University Music Academy Wednesday night at the amphitheatre in Gan Hapisga. Shalom Ronli-Riklis conducts, and three guests will be involved: Marcello Lippi, from Italy, in the role of Don Pasquale, and Sammy Behar and Gaby Sadeh alternating as Ernesto, the protagonist's nephew and rival.

The following night at 11 p.m. in the Old Jaffa entrance plaza, Yoram Boker's pantomime trio will present their own version of Stravinsky's *Soldier's Story*, about the soldier returning from battle who meets the devil on his way home. Ronli-Riklis will conduct musicians from the IPO, and Gideon Shemer provides the narration.

The productions being offered at Hasmita are from "native" sources, and some are attempts to deal with Israeli or Jewish experience. Among them are Yosef Mundi's *Local Story*, which is about an encounter between a bereaved father and an unidentified young man in a military cemetery (Wednesday). Yehuda Morely, who directed the extravagant musical version of *Gimpel the Fool* at the Jerusalem Khan last year, is doing Y. L. Peretz's *Devotion* (*Mesira Nefesh*) with the Hebrew University theatre department in two performances on Saturday night.

Two other Jerusalem productions are on the agenda: *Icarus* by Hades Ofra's Box Theatre, using puppets and people, (Monday night) and a play called *There*, directed by Nufi Salah, who has done interesting work at the Acre Fringe Festival and elsewhere in community theatre which ladies up out of the Israeli

social stew some bones to stick in your throat.

Tuesday night at Hasmita is devoted to two Arabic productions: the Ali Baba puppet theatre's *Pilipon*, and Toufik el-Hakim's *Prayer of Angels*, performed by the Beit Hagefen theatre of Haifa.

Details on the anniversary celebrations are available from the PR people handling the events, 03-240292.

THE GALILEE had its share of attention last week, when the Haifa Municipal Theatre packed up its actors and sets for six current productions and took them to Kiryat Shmuna, Metulla, Kibbutz Kfar Szold and Hatzor Haglilit. The project was initiated and supported by Omanut La'am (Art for the People), which has an extensive programme for bringing the best of the arts to outlying districts and cultivating new audiences.

According to Amnon Porat, deputy director of Omanut La'am and the man in charge of its theatre activities, "The artist is not just someone who does his work and goes home. He has to develop a natural relationship with the audience."

The actors, managers and designers of the Haifa Theatre stayed up until all hours of the morning developing that relationship, and it was sometimes a stormy one. Among the productions they took to the Galilee were Yehoshua Sobol's *Ghetto* and a musical revue called *Poison Mushroom*, which uses schoolbooks, journals and songs from the '30s in Germany - all authentic material - to trace the rise of Nazism in everyday life. Both productions deal with the dangers of nationalism and the insidious and gradual polarization of society, and suggest some current relevance.

When the actors weren't actually on stage or engaging in post-mortems with the audience, they were participating in pre-performance preparation - including meetings with high school students and factory workers who took two hours off the assembly line. All those who don't get to Haifa or Tel Aviv very often, and might not go to the theatre if they did.

IN TEL AVIV, where there's no shortage of people clogging the stages and auditoriums, third-year students of the major drama schools - Beit Zvi, Nissan Nativ, Tel Aviv University's theatre department and Seminar Hakibbutzim - put on several productions each year to which general audiences are invited.

About this time of year each student hopes to get a phone call from some spokesman from the Big Time with an offer for a season contract, or at least an audition for a particular production.

This year something peculiar happened: an entire third-year production - by students of Nissan Nativ - was bought up by Beit Lessin, the Histadrut-sponsored cultural centre which does several commercial productions each year.

The play is a wild satire called *All My Sons Except Naomi*, or *The Shores of Switzerland*, written by Daniel Lapin and Yoni Lahav, and directed by Michael Gurevitch, who is a graduate of the school, teaches there and directs at Habimah. Some critics think this production is better than anything he's done at the national theatre.

I won't go into the plot, such as it is, since it's too complicated and it doesn't matter all that much. It is a vehicle which allows 10 talented young actors - including two guest participants who are graduates of the school - to let themselves loose on every aspect of Israeli society imaginable. They leave no stone unturned.

There's the pushy little man who wheels and deals in marriages and coalitions and sings that he's feeling prime ministerial. There's a big-shot dumb-dumb general who talks slower, and mimes no words. There's a black-coated Agudat Yisrael type who speaks through blocked nose much like a particular MK who took up a lot of space in the last Knesset. Young people brainwashed on mass into ultra-Orthodoxy pick up the same nasal tone. On the other side of the political fence is a Peace Nownik named Nimrod Schopenhauer with a too-beautiful soul; a proud Arab street-cleaner (a ginger-haired Swiss actor) who finally agrees to cooperate with Nimrod to save his beloved from brainwashing and is inadvertently shot for his efforts. There's an undergrounder from '48 who emerges in '84 and decides he was better off where he was.

Theatre itself is not immune from satire: the whole production is a play-within-a-play in which the "neurotic playwright keeps interrupting the action when the characters get out of hand and wonder if this was the problem Pirandello had."

It's quick, funny, absurd and familiar, if sometimes too school-boyish. It apparently has a firm career ahead of it: There will be a few performances in June and July, and a regular run from August.

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Israel Lands Administration Tel Aviv District

Offer for Lease of Plot for Construction of 16 Housing Units at Ramat Mahayal, Tel Aviv Tender No. TA/84/35

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a lease contract for the area, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total leased area (sq.m.)	Minimum per plot (sq.m.)	Deposit (IS)
6336	586	1758	1380	76,426,276	4,000,000

In accordance with the Municipal Building Plan it will be possible to make use of 2 storeys above pillars area, on a gross average area of 850 sq.m. per unit, making a total of 13,600 sq.m., not including conveniences area in pillars section. Further details and tender forms are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 116 Derech Patah Tzura (Beit Kalka), Tel. 335211 during regular working hours.

Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on August 1, 1984. Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered. The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid.

Central District

Offer for Lease of Plot for Commercial Construction at Ramla Tender No. JM/84/36

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract for a plot, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel portion	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building % on 2 storeys	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
4350	9-11, 13	724	50	3,508,855	175,000

The tender award will be required to prepare construction plans to be approved by the local committee. Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Tel Aviv district office, Derech Patah Tzura, Tel. 335211 during regular working hours.

Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on August 1, 1984. Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered. The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid.

Jerusalem District

Arim Urban Development Co. Ltd.

Offer for Lease of 8 Construction Areas Land Included, at Ramot 03, Jerusalem

Pursuant to the press notice calling for the organizing of associations, the Israel Lands Administration invites associations and other entrepreneurs to submit bids for a development contract for areas, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Tender	Area	Approx. plot area (sq.m.)	Housing Units to be built	Approx. area to be built (sq.m.)	Approx. basement area (sq.m.)	Developments costs (I\$)*	Minimum price (I\$)	Deposit (I\$)
JM/84/27	A	5995	15	2850	120	64,942,250	37,632,298	2,000,000
JM/84/28	B	6525	18	2850	400	75,736,750	41,162,318	2,000,000
JM/84/29	C	3930	11	1530	280	45,616,650	26,122,819	2,000,000
JM/84/30	D	5430	15	2380	380	83,027,160	38,831,971	2,000,000
JM/84/31	E	5140	14	2200	120	59,961,000	32,988,861	2,000,000
JM/84/32	F	5290	14	2220	40	62,214,700	34,523,018	2,000,000
JM/84/33	G	6850	19	3060	560	77,187,650	46,755,780	2,000,000
JM/84/34	H	9015	24	3880	400	104,838,250	81,210,114	2,000,000

* Linked to April 1984 building index (2307 points) and to be paid separately to Arim and in accordance with Arim contract. Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at the Israel Lands Administration office, 34 Rehov Ben-Yehuda, Jerusalem Tel. 224121, during regular working hours.

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1. Israel Lands Administration, Jerusalem District, 34 Rehov Ben-Yehuda, Tel. 224121.
2. Arim Urban Development Co. Ltd., 189 Rehov Yehuda, Tel. 534192, Jerusalem.

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the play
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Summit Fever

Reagan Move Alters Terms Of Play on the 'Peace Issue'

By HEDRICK SMITH

DURING the 1980 election campaign, Ronald Reagan's strategists constantly warned against "an October surprise." They suggested that Jimmy Carter would use the power of incumbency for a diplomatic stroke that would put the Republican challenger at a political disadvantage. Last week, Mr. Reagan sprung his own surprise, exercising his Presidential prerogative to upstage rivals and critics in an election year by suddenly dangling the prospect of a summit meeting with Soviet leader Konstantin U. Chernenko.

For months, the President had insisted that any Soviet-American summit session "would have to be carefully prepared in order to be useful and to have the prospect of meaningful results" to prevent "great expectations and great disappointments." Just last Tuesday, the White House stuck to that view in the face of unexpected and embarrassing pressure from Senate majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. and Senator Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, for an immediate summit meeting. The two Republicans asserted that the world situation had grown so tense that the President should relax his conditions and meet Mr. Chernenko to "just talk about the general relationship."

Despite the White House brush-off, the issue dogged Mr. Reagan. On Wednesday, as he strolled past reporters on his way to a White House ceremony, someone shouted, "Are you afraid of a summit meeting?" Jauntily, the President shot back, "I'm not afraid of anything." But his confident tone belied the worries of Reagan political strategists. Privately, aides debated how to handle the Baker-Percy jolt. Thursday night, the President suddenly took a new tack, attempting to gain the political high ground and put both the Russians and domestic critics on the defensive.

"I am willing to meet and talk any time," he said almost casually at his evening news conference. "I'm not talking about a preconstructed meeting in which you've got a list of points. You can have an agenda in which it is the general area of things that you think could lead to better understanding. And that's good enough for me." He was not issuing an invitation, he said, but "the door is open and every once in a while we're standing in the doorway seeing if anyone's coming up the steps."

Where did that leave chances for a summit meeting this year? Privately, high-level American officials offered very cautious forecasts and indicated the White House was sticking to its strictures about careful preparation despite the President's casual tone. One said a Reagan-Chernenko meeting was "not out of the question" but "not likely" this year. Even assuming Moscow wanted such a meeting before the American election, he said, it would still require "a lot of work, a rich measure of preparation" to develop "an agreed agenda." Several Soviet specialists voiced skepticism that the Kremlin would do anything to help the President's chances for reelection, as a summit presumably would.

Diplomacy and Politics

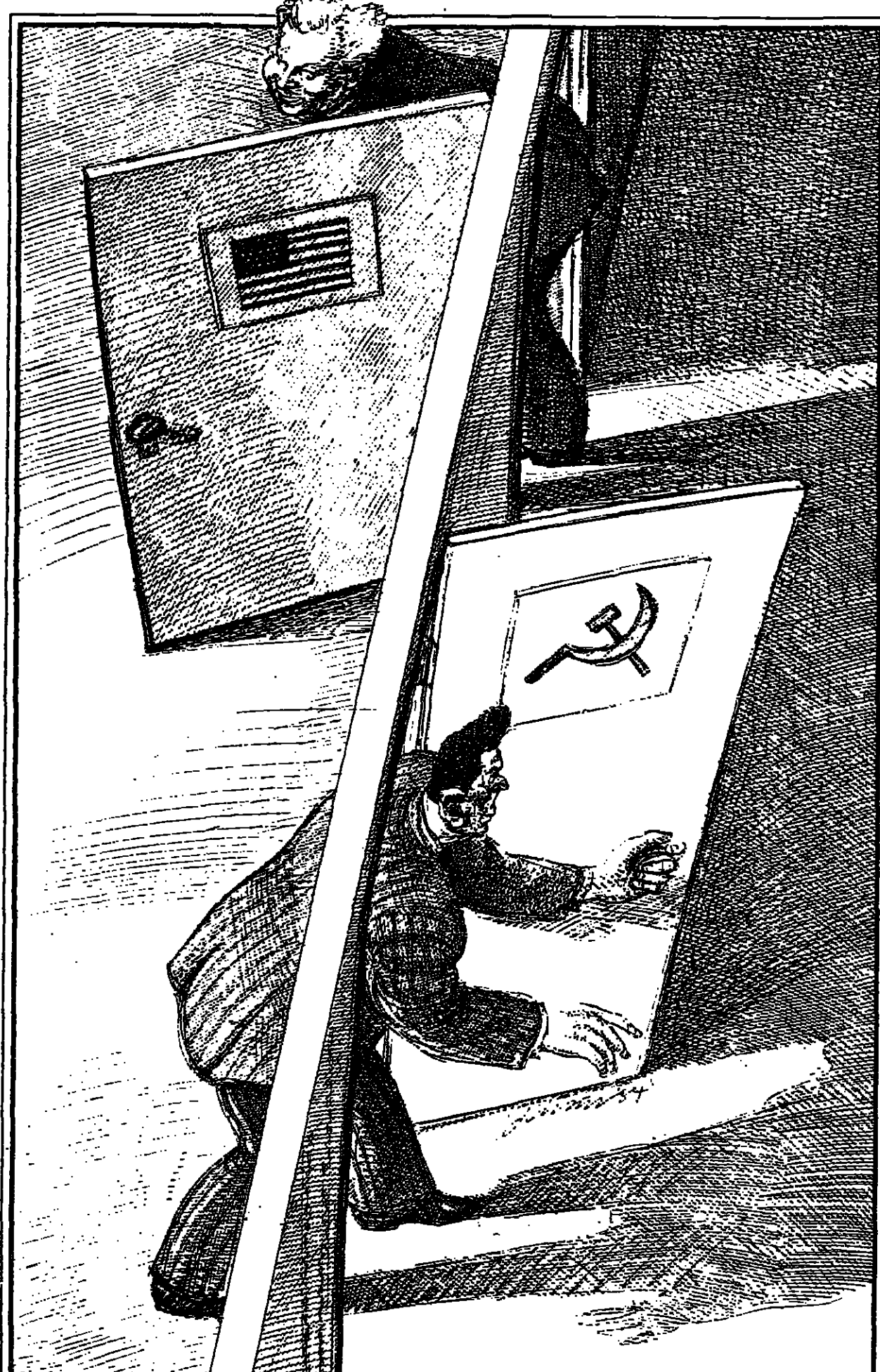
With no visible breakthrough in the stalemate on nuclear arms talks, the Administration has been exploring other security issues with the Russians and says it is willing to resume talks on economic cooperation that were suspended in 1979. At the East-West conference in Stockholm, Soviet negotiators proposed a treaty barring the use of force as a potential opening. On June 4, President Reagan approved the idea but linked it to Soviet acceptance of measures to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe, and Moscow balked. For a summit revolving around that kind of issue, one senior official said, "We want a demonstrated willingness by the Soviets to make progress and we haven't seen that yet."

Although the President said he would not "play political games with this summit," other officials say in confidence that the catalyst for his shift was domestic politics. For months his political advisers, feeling his greatest vulnerability this fall was what they call "the war-peace issue," have put him on a conciliatory line. His general approach has been to strike a stance of reasonableness and hold the Russians responsible for shutting down nuclear arms talks. The Baker-Percy move threatened to undercut this strategy. It struck as Democratic leaders were fashioning a campaign that was expected to zero in on Mr. Reagan's handling of arms control and Soviet-American relations.

Morover, Moscow's latest appeal for talks to ban antisatellite weapons found an echo in the Senate. A solid bipartisan majority linked funds for testing American antisatellite weapons to a requirement that President Reagan make "a good faith endeavor" to start talks with the Kremlin on this issue. Far more stunning for the White House, Senate Democrats joined by 10 Republicans came within one vote of killing funds for the controversial MX missile. It took Vice President Bush to break a 48-to-48 tie vote, a sign that the MX may well lack a Senate majority next year if Democrats pick up seats this fall.

By raising the possibility of a summit meeting, the President has seized the initiative and stemmed an unfavorable tide at least temporarily. By Friday, his spokesman was even holding out the prospects for talks with Moscow on curbing antisatellite weapons. Thus in the short run, the President has shifted the focus of debate from the substance and setbacks in the Reagan record to the tactics and prospects for the future. With one stroke, he has moved to trump Walter F. Mondale's call for regular annual summit meetings and to blunt the charge that he has not been serious on arms control.

If no summit materializes from the quiet diplomacy he has put in motion, the President has taken the political risk that Democrats will condemn his new posture as a pure political ploy. If there is an early summit, he runs the risk that it will produce an even harsher chill with Moscow, like the Vienna summit of John F. Kennedy and Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1961. But with his June "surprise," Mr. Reagan has put the ball in the Soviet court and once again shown the power of an incumbent to alter the terms of play, both at home and abroad.



Victor Juhász

25 Years of Summity

- | | |
|---|--|
| Sept. 1959, Camp David.
Khrushchev and Eisenhower.
Agenda: Reducing tensions, Berlin situation.
Results: Agreed to talk about Berlin, nuclear energy in the future. Agreed on cultural and scientific exchanges. | June 1973, Washington.
Brezhnev and Nixon.
Agenda: Continuing arms negotiation, trade expansion, cultural and scientific cooperation.
Results: Accord on avoidance of nuclear war signed. Cooperative exchanges approved. |
| June 1961, Vienna.
Khrushchev and Kennedy.
Agenda: Berlin, war in Laos, nuclear test ban.
Results: No progress made. Berlin partitioned two months later. | June 1974, Moscow and Yalta.
Brezhnev and Nixon.
Agenda: Arms limitation, cooperative exchanges.
Results: Amended ABM treaty, nuclear test ban. Failed to achieve limits on offensive arms. |
| June 1967, Glassboro, N.J.
Kosygin and Johnson.
Agenda: Arab-Israeli war, Vietnam war.
Results: Cordial discussions, but no agreements. Drafted treaty on non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. | Nov. 1974, Vladivostok.
Brezhnev and Ford.
Agenda: Limitations on offensive weapons.
Results: Tentative agreement. |
| May 1972, Moscow.
Brezhnev and Nixon.
Agenda: Arms limitation.
Results: Start of détente. SALT I and ABM treaty signed. | June 1979, Vienna.
Brezhnev and Carter.
Agenda: Arms limitation.
Results: SALT II signed. |

Making Quick Work of Immigration-Law Changes



Associated Press

AS though making up for lost time, the House last week took up a broad immigration control bill and moved briskly through more than 50 amendments. By week's end, the debate still hadn't ended, but many opponents of the measure had begun to talk of the inevitability of passage. "Things don't look very good," said Robert Garcia, the Democrat from the Bronx who heads the Hispanic Caucus.

He and other critics, who argued that the legislation would result in discrimination against those whose English is imperfect and whose skin isn't white, won an early round. The House knocked out a section ordering a Presidential study on how to create a fool-

proof identity system. Opponents contended that such a system would lead inevitably to a national I.D. card, which is anathema to civil libertarians.

But the opponents, who were led by Edward R. Roybal, Democrat of California, didn't win much else. The House, in its first immigration debate since December 1982, voted to retain a provision that would outlaw the hiring of illegal aliens.

Also approved was a new temporary foreign worker program that would offer visas to foreign workers if American growers ask for their help.

The proposal was sponsored by Leon E. Panetta, a California Democrat whose district is a large user of hired farmhands. Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, said the importation of farm workers — opposed by organized labor, which supports most provisions of the bill — "would even offend a slave driver."

The House also approved were the stationing of more guards along the Mexican border and a telephone verification system that would allow employers to check on the validity of a job applicant's Social Security number.

Fear of a Backlash

Through all the frequently charged rhetoric, the political import of the debate and the talk of a possible Hispanic backlash at the polls wasn't forgotten. House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. asserted that the measure, which the three Democratic Presidential contenders oppose, was "a Reagan bill more than anybody else's." President Reagan said at his news conference Thursday night that the legislation was overdue because "the simple truth is, we've lost control of our borders." Republicans, he maintained, "have nothing to fear come November."

Still to be considered is a hotly contested proposal for a one-time-only amnesty for illegal aliens who can show that they have lived in the United States since Jan. 1, 1980. A final vote on the bill is likely this week. Differences with a Senate version adopted in 1983 would have to be ironed out by a conference committee.

The Russians Change Their Tone but Not Their Tune

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

MOSCOW

IT has been hard to tell lately who is more willing — or perhaps less unwilling — to negotiate and on what. Last week, it seemed that President Reagan had seized the high ground with the summit issue while Konstantin U. Chernenko had scored a telling blow by choosing space weapons, an issue with popular appeal on which Mr. Reagan has been reluctant to negotiate.

The Soviet response to the call for a summit meeting was ambiguous. Leonid M. Zamyatin, the Kremlin's spokesman, told a news conference that Moscow favored such a meeting in principle, but that the issues would have to be thoroughly worked out. That has been the Soviet position up to now. What was noteworthy in Mr. Zamyatin's response was the absence of the stridency he usually injects into matters touching on Mr. Reagan.

It seemed most likely that the Russians had decided against giving the appearance of intransigence on a summit meeting, but had set enough conditions to ensure that there would be no chance of one before the Presidential elections. More broadly, it remained unclear whether there was any substance to the political maneuvering between Washington and Moscow, or whether it was no more than what one diplomat described as two tarantulas in a jar trying to feel each other out. Diplomats in Moscow reported no substantive contacts toward any summit or formal discussions, and no sign that the Russians were prepared to abandon their stance of injured anger any time soon. The main discernible policy has been to let the Soviet anger with Mr. Reagan be known far and wide.

The problem in reading Moscow often is to determine to what degree a propaganda campaign is real or feigned. If the anger is ritual, then the question is, how easy is it for the leaders to reverse months or years of propaganda claims? Much of the current deadlock can be traced to propaganda that developed a life of its own. Moscow expended so much talk and energy in trying to block the deployment of new American missiles in Europe that in the end the weapons assumed a political dimension far beyond their military significance. When the missile deployment actually began last fall, the Russians were saddened with the need to substantiate their own prophecies of doom. To return now to the Geneva talks would mean not only swallowing years of alarmist talk but also would appear to vindicate Mr. Reagan's policies and give him an enormous political boost. But to continue evading negotiations would mean to lose ground on the public opinion front, and to lose a chance to at least limit deployment of the new American arms and revive détente.

Gromyko in Control

It is not an easy choice. Many diplomats believe that the Kremlin has thrown up a screen of anger and indignation at least in part to gain time while searching for a new course. One long-term course is to strengthen economic cooperation within the Soviet bloc and lessen dependence on the West. This was the goal of last week's meeting of the 10-nation Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, known as Comecon. A communiqué indicated that Moscow had made some gains in obtaining better integration of the Communist economies. There were pledges to coordinate economic planning, cooperate in technological research, and produce high-technology goods, something the Soviet Union badly needs. An accompanying political statement attacked the West for trying to weaken the Soviet bloc by pressure tactics such as blocking trade credits and denying technology.

The notion is often pushed in Washington that the Soviet display of hostility masks a Kremlin in disarray, that the glowing façade conceals a divided leadership. There is indeed considerable evidence that Mr. Chernenko is not fully the master and that impatient disciples of the late Yuri V. Andropov have not been brought to heel. But on foreign policy, all the evidence indicates that Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko is in full and sole control, having consolidated his hold when Mr. Andropov fell ill soon after coming to power. And when Mr. Andropov died, the most widely held theory is that Mr. Gromyko supported Mr. Chernenko as successor on the understanding that his own power would be left intact.

Mr. Gromyko's anger is probably not feigned, at least not entirely. He has never been known for a light disposition, and he had his diplomatic schooling at the height of the cold war. Leaders of his generation equate prestige with power, and in détente they apparently thought they had achieved the recognition and status that Soviet might deserved.

Mr. Reagan's talk of "evil empires" and crusades against Communism were not what Mr. Gromyko thought he should be hearing from the leader of the other superpower. And as a veteran of 27 years as Foreign Minister, he undoubtedly felt badly slighted when told his official plane would not be allowed the use of civil airfields near the United Nations last fall because of the furor over the downed Korean jetliner. He chose not to go at all.

But Mr. Gromyko is also a realistic man. He has been known to throw a temper tantrum on cue, and also to sit poker-faced when many other men would explode in anger. It is doubtful that he would continue putting it if it became obvious that this course was costing heavily in West European public opinion, or if he became convinced that Mr. Reagan could not be dislodged from office. If this is so, the current contest to demonstrate who is more ready to negotiate might give Mr. Gromyko a mechanism for maneuvering the Kremlin out of its tight political corner.

India tries to pick up the pieces

The World

Duarte Shows His Style in El Salvador

Shortly before José Napoleón Duarte became President of El Salvador this month, his predecessor, Alvaro Magaña, transferred and neutralized some army officers suspected of conniving with death squads. Last week, the Duarte Government followed up, disbanding the 100-man treasury police intelligence unit, which has been accused of providing information to the death squads. Two of its members have been detained in connection with the murder of a businessman.

In another indication of the Duarte style, church officials said improved relations with the authorities had enabled the church to arrange a prisoner exchange with leftist guerrillas. Dr. Eduardo Vides Casanova, brother of the Defense Minister, was released in exchange for an undisclosed number of Government-held political prisoners.

Meanwhile, the wounded Nicaraguan insurgent leader, Edén Pastora Gómez, said from a clinic in Venezuela that he would "return to the mountains" to fight, even if the United States withholds support. He again rejected Central Intelligence Agency pressure to join forces with Honduras-based rebels who he says served the ousted Nicaraguan dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Costa Rican authorities have been unable to find the man posing as a Dutch journalist whom they suspect of setting the bomb that injured Mr. Pastora during a press conference May 30.

In Washington, House members stuck by their refusal to approve the Reagan Administration's request for \$21 million more this year for the Nicaraguan rebels. The House Intelligence Committee said the C.I.A. had exceeded a Congressional ceiling on aid to the insurgents by nearly \$1 million.

The Senate Intelligence Committee, however, approved \$28 million for the Nicaraguan rebels for next year. At the same time, Mexico announced it had been asked to play a role in talks between the United States and Nicaragua but a State Department official said the role would not be that of a direct participant. The talks began two weeks ago with a visit to Managua by Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

A New Chapter In the Gulf War

More than 800 civilians were killed or wounded this month before Iran and Iraq agreed to stop attacking each other's cities from the air. Heading an appeal from the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, they agreed for the first time to moderate their tactics.

But both sides insisted the war would not stop. "Your best friend is your gun," President Saddam Hussein told his Iraqi troops. And Iran called up demobilized soldiers who had already served their hitch. Hojatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of Parliament, reiterated Teheran's hostility to Mr. Hussein. "A war criminal who must be tried and punished."

The war zone spread to the lower part of the Persian Gulf where a plane, presumably Iranian, attacked a Kuwaiti supertanker. Earlier strikes against 36 ships by Iraq and five attributed to Iran were confined to the upper Gulf. In last Sunday's attack, no one was hurt aboard the Kuwaiti ship Kazimah; damage was light. But the extension had the predictable effect of sharply raising shipping insurance rates in the lower Gulf. Mr. Rafsanjani offered to halt attacks on Gulf shipping if Iraq also did so. But the offer was rejected yesterday on the ground it did not guarantee the safety of Iraq's ports and ships.

Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and their partners in the Gulf Cooperation

Council agreed on joint action to protect oil exports. Reports from Qatar, another member, said the group's defense ministers might establish a shipping lane close to shore protected by naval and air patrols and land-based weapons. Bahrain, Oman and United Arab Emirates are the other Council members.

Polish Dissidents Getting a Trial

Four of Poland's best-known dissidents, imprisoned after the martial law crackdown in December 1981, were told last week they would be put on trial for sedition next month. They took it as a victory.

The Communist Government's apparently reluctant decision to start judicial proceedings July 13 came after efforts to persuade the dissidents to go abroad had failed and one of them, the historian Jacek Kuron, had gone on a hunger strike demanding freedom or his day in court. Mr. Kuron and the others, Adam Michnik, Henryk Wujec and Zbigniew Romaszewski, gave Solidarity intellectual support through a group they called KOR. Seven Solidarity leaders are also in prison but no date has been announced for a trial. An eighth leader, Bogdan Lis, No. 2 in the underground, was arrested last week.

The authorities have appeared anxious to avoid trials for fear of arousing the anger of Polish workers, many of whom strongly resent the suppression of the Soviet Bloc's first free trade union. An indication of how strongly Communist leaders may feel about the danger of Solidarity was suggested in the conclusion by an Italian prosecutor that the Bulgarian secret service had organized the attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II in 1981 because of his support for Solidarity.

Announcing the trial now may give Polish officials time to plea bargain and avoid the embarrassment of prosecution. The KOR and Solidarity dissidents evidently had rejected offers of exile for six months to a year, and freedom conditioned on their refraining from political activity from six months to two years.

A Debate With Words and Guns

Lebanon's national unity Government got a vote of confidence and a few special powers from Parliament last week as intensified fighting killed more than 100 people in the streets of Beirut.

The battles, some of the worst in nine years of off-and-on civil war, appeared to reflect the divisions in Parliament and the seven-week-old Cabinet of Moslem Prime Minister Rashid Karami. While Christians and Moslems traded artillery fire, Mr. Karami's plans to give Moslem and Druse factions more say in the army and the administration came under attack from Christians, including President Amin Gemayel, reluctant to relinquish their preeminence. Mr. Karami got some decree-making powers for nine months to try to establish a basis for peaceful coexistence, but it was uncertain whether his four Moslem and four Christian ministers would stay together that long. He was empowered to revise or rescind decrees that concentrated military and security powers in the hands of the Christian army commander.

The violence was witnessed by the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who was touring the Middle East to discuss peace options. He rejected a proposal by Israel that 5,700 United Nations peacekeeping troops serve as a buffer between Syrian and Israeli forces in eastern Lebanon. "The U.N. is against anything which would signify directly or indirectly the division of Lebanon," he said. Later, fighting broke out briefly between Syrian and Israeli troops.

Henry Glimmer,
Milt Freudenberg
and Richard Levine

Verbatim: Challenging the C.I.A.

"The whole picture that the Administration has presented of Salvadoran insurgent operations being planned, directed and supplied from Nicaragua is simply not true. There has not been a successful interdiction, or a verified report, of arms moving from Nicaragua to El Salvador since April 1981.

The Administration and the C.I.A. have systematically misrepresented Nicaraguan involvement in the supply of arms to Salvadoran guerrillas to justify efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government.

It's hard to believe, if we know so much about all these shipments, that we haven't been able to capture one plane or boat. It's even hard to believe that in the last two years one of the planes hasn't crashed or one crate of guns hasn't been dropped mistakenly into a tree."

David C. MacMichael,
a former Central Intelligence Agency analyst, challenging the Administration's policy in Central America.

Last Week's Space Test Aside, 'Star Wars' Remains on the Ground

Congress Moves to Get Hands on Arms Control

By WAYNE BIDDLE

WASHINGTON — Technology and politics are the two driving forces of weapons invention, but they do not always push in the same direction. Last week they seemed to jerk around the compass at cross-purposes.

The Army's announcement of a successful firing along the Pacific missile test range of a new interceptor able to destroy enemy nuclear warheads in space brought President Reagan's "Star Wars" vision a touch closer. But as Congress continued to slog through the Pentagon budget authorization for 1985, the realities of weapons development fueled a bipartisan desire to wrap arms control restrictions around Mr. Reagan's military buildup. "It was one of the most significant weeks we've had for arms control since I've been in the Senate," said Larry Pressler, Republican of South Dakota. "It started with the anti-ballistic missile test and climaxed with the White House announcement that the President may propose a treaty on antisatellite weapons with the Soviets."

From an engineering standpoint, the Army test hardly represented a giant leap forward for the futuristic plan to build a space-based defense network, though it dramatized early progress in a few technical fields. "It demonstrated some mature technology," said Ashton B. Carter, a former Defense Department analyst now at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "But it doesn't mean you have a system worth buying."

According to an official at the Army's Ballistic Missile Defense Command in Huntsville, Ala., the new interceptor missile built by the Lockheed Corporation was actually an old Minuteman ICBM carrying a homing device in its third stage instead of a nuclear bomb. (The device is thought to be similar to one used in the Air Force's antisatellite rocket, which zeroes in on the faint heat emitted by satellites in low orbit.) After finding its target, the interceptor unfolded a metal screen about 15 feet in diameter that smashed the warhead like a flyswatter. The test was said to be the last in a series of four that began in February 1983; the first three interceptors failed to hit the warheads they were aimed at.

The program, begun in 1978 and costing about \$300 million, will be followed by a project called ERIS (for Exoatmospheric Reentry-vehicle Interceptor Subsystem), which will develop a new booster to replace the surplus Minutemen. Last month, the Pentagon awarded \$500,000 each to four aerospace companies to begin design work.

Regardless of whether more exotic devices such as lasers or atomic particle beams are ever built, let alone placed in space to shoot down Soviet ICBM's, there is widespread agreement that the Pentagon will continue to pursue conventional antimissile weapons. Funding for the Army's Ballistic Missile Defense program, in fact, makes up 52 percent of the \$991 million Star Wars budget for 1984, according to a study by the Congressional Budget Office. Congress will probably approve \$12.8 million in the 1985 budget request to begin constructing a missile base in the Aleutian Islands for testing devices to discriminate between real warheads and decoys. These sensors would presumably be launched after detection of an attack, then used to help guide the interceptors.

Not that Congress has so far shown much desire to cut deeply into the President's budget for space weaponry or, for that matter, any other arms category. The House of Representatives voted last month to shave only \$400 million from his \$1.8 billion Star Wars request for 1985. The Senate last week refused to cut more than \$150 million. But debate in both chambers has revealed a strong inclination to make weapons financing contingent on arms control progress. When the House reduced the President's request for 40 MX missiles to 15, it called for a joint resolution of Congress next April to release the money. The Senate came close last week to delaying its recommendation for production of 21 MX's, pending a review of the plan to build a smaller single-warhead missile, dubbed Midgetman, that is perceived as offering more stability to the strategic balance than MX.

As for antisatellite weapons, the House prohibited testing unless the President certifies that the Russians have conducted similar tests; the Senate also approved a restriction, though it was much weaker.

The House and Senate will have to iron out



An interceptor missile lifting off from Meek Island in the Kwajalein Islands last week.

their differences later this year, with arms control issues bound to create much more contention than dollar figures. For weapons procurement, research and development, and operations and maintenance, the House and Senate authorization bills for 1985 are only about \$6 billion apart—a trivial sum in the astronomical arithmetic of military spending.

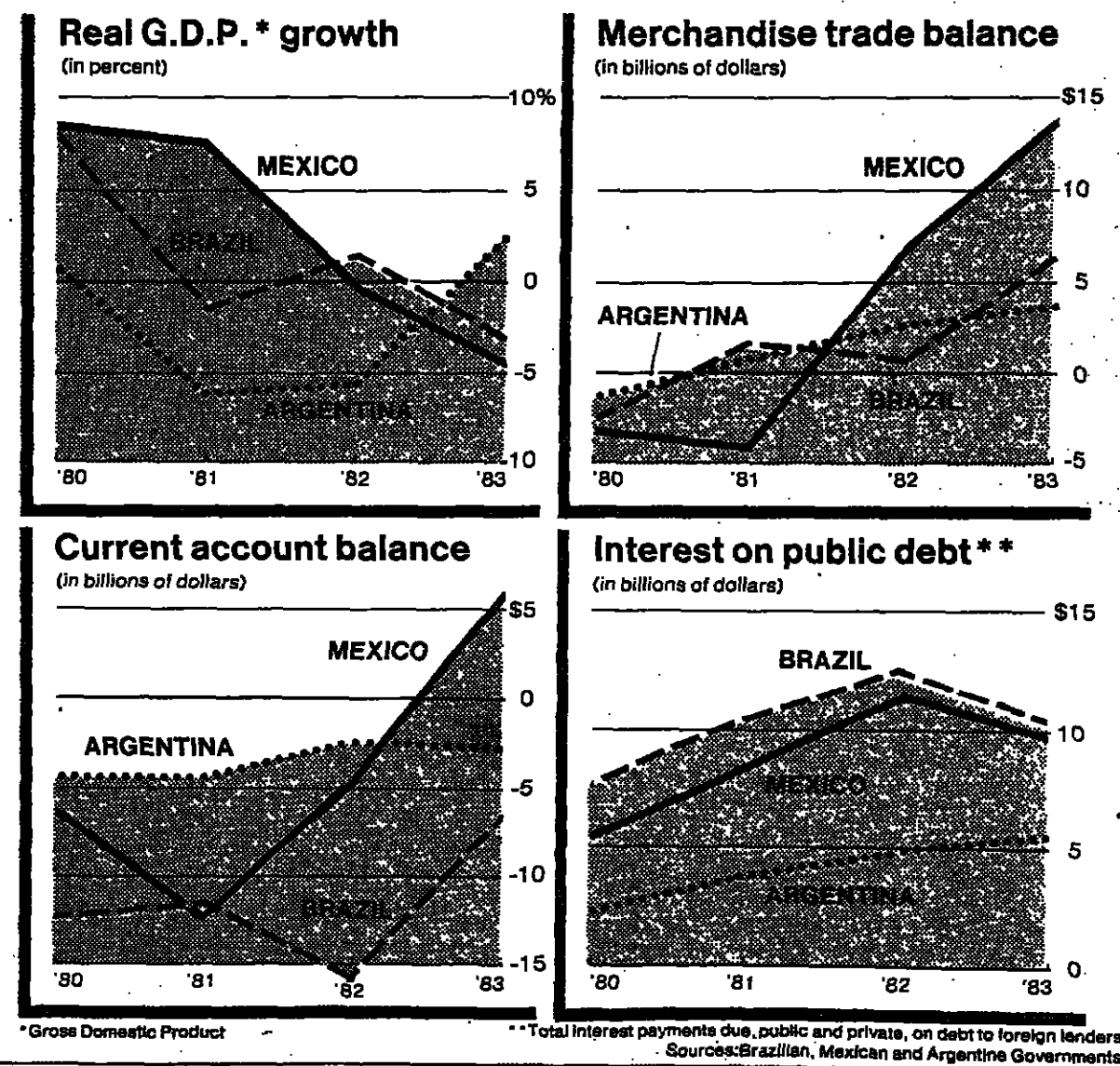
The comments of a senior White House official a day after Mr. Reagan's news conference seemed to reflect a nascent recognition that, although there is still a Capitol Hill consensus for significant rises in military spending, the buildup itself is breathing life into arms control. Regarding treaty negotiations with the Soviets to limit antisatellite weapons, which the President declared in March was not "in the overall interest of the United States and its allies," the official said: "The door is open. We do want to make an honest effort to control antisatellite weapons if there is a way to do so. Within weeks or months, we might have something to put forward."

Strategy Will Be Tested in Cartagena This Week

Can IMF 'Divide and Conquer' Debtors?

International signals

Financial indicators of three debtor countries



By ROBERT A. BENNETT

Foreign Ministers and Finance Ministers from seven hard-pressed Latin American countries will meet this week in the Colombian resort city of Cartagena, ostensibly to discuss questions such as high interest rates and trade restrictions. But the real substance of the conference is expected to take place in less formal get-togethers, where there may be a shootout of sorts between the countries that have been cooperating with the international banking community and those that have been defying it.

The reactions at Cartagena should be the first test of the new "divide and conquer" tactics adopted by major American, West European and Japanese banks to cope with the \$350 billion owed by Latin American debtors.

The banks' strategy is to reward cooperative countries with lower interest rates and easier repayment terms while standing firm against recalcitrant governments.

Of the countries expected at the meeting, Mexico, Brazil and Peru have sacrificed heavily to repay the banks. Having accepted stiff austerity programs proposed by the International Monetary Fund, the three plunged their economies into severe recessions. The result was a reduction in imports and a surge in exports, which produced the foreign exchange needed to pay the

banks and to help restore their national credit ratings. On the other side, Argentina and Venezuela have been holding out against the International Monetary Fund's austerity requirements, which ordinarily must be accepted before commercial banks will resume lending to a country in trouble. Although they have the necessary foreign exchange, the Argentines and Venezuelans have fallen far behind in their payments. The host country, Colombia, and Ecuador, which recently announced it is unable to pay its debts, are the others expected at Cartagena.

Stirring Resentment

The division reflects the growing politicization of the debt crisis. "The populations of the third world have been subsidizing the finances of the Western countries of the Northern Hemisphere," Juan Manuel Castilla, Argentina's Minister of Labor, argued last week. Heady rhetoric of this type has aroused political resentment throughout Latin America, notably in Mexico and Brazil, making it hard for them to defend their cooperative policies.

The conflict grew more intense late last week. The Reagan Administration, increasing the pressure on Argentina, said it would not renew its guarantee of a \$300 million loan to Argentina from Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia. Thus, Argentina will have to repay the loan with exports to those countries of Argentine goods.

a closed meeting in Philadelphia earlier this month, attended solely by the chief executive officers of a handful of the largest commercial banks. The only others present were Paul A. Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, and Jacques de Larosière, managing director of the International Monetary Fund.

The presence of Mr. Volcker and Mr. de Larosière indicated that the politically oriented strategy had the support of the governments of the leading industrialized nations. That was confirmed last week by a deal with Peru in which the governments of the industrialized countries implemented the "divide and conquer" strategy. The so-called Paris Club—industrialized nations that have made loans to the Peruvian Government—agreed to refinance more than \$1 billion of Peru's debt. They gave the country nine years to repay and said that no payments would be due for the first six years. "These are the best terms ever granted to a Latin American borrower," said Rodrigo Cepeda Yzaga, the elated president of Peru's external-debt committee.

Mr. Cepeda will be among those attending the Cartagena meeting. "It is important that the Cartagena gathering should be viewed as something positive," he said. "People are afraid of why we are gathering. It is not based on establishment of cartels, we merely want to look at the essence of the problem, such as the level of world interest rates and protectionism."

Move Against Sikhs Was a Major New Bloody Showdown

Indian Zealots Test the Limits of Democracy

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

AMRITSAR, India — All around were the signs of killing and destruction — bullet-pocked walls and parapets, minarets with their tops sheared away, marble esplanades still wet from hosing to remove the blood. But in the middle of the Pool of Nectar of Immortality, the Golden Temple of the Sikh religion shimmered unscathed, a survivor of the army raid on Sikh terrorists and a symbol of continuity.

For centuries, Punjab has been a cauldron holding a mixture of vitality and violence. Living on the historic invasion route into the Indian subcontinent, Punjabis were uprooted, killed, raped and conquered. But, like the Golden Temple of Amritsar this time, they have survived resiliently. Even after the savage communal killing that followed the partition of Punjab between India and Pakistan in 1947 — when at least 250,000 Indians, including many Punjabis, were butchered — Hindus and Sikhs recovered to build Punjab into India's most prosperous state.

Now it has again passed through an ordeal of bloody terror, the climax of 16 months of political and communal violence in India that started with the carnage in Assam in February 1983 and included last month's Moslem-Hindu rioting in Bombay.

Two weeks ago, after months of inaction while Sikh terrorists reportedly killed nearly 600 people, mainly in Punjab, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sent in the army. The Government says the terrorists were on the verge of launching a full-scale insurgency aimed at creating an independent Sikh state between India and Pakistan. Then came the clamping of virtual martial law on the Punjab; the raid on the Golden Temple on June 6, in which terrorist leaders died, and the mutiny by Sikh soldiers that was part of a wider protest against the raid by many Sikhs.

The Government says 576 people died in the assault, including 84 soldiers. But persistent, although unconfirmed, reports put the number killed at more than 1,000. Officials said more than 3,000 suspected "extremists" have been arrested in Amritsar and in the countryside. Some army sources say that 3,000 more may still be at large.

Mrs. Gandhi has often blamed a vague and unspecified "foreign hand" for India's violence, and other high Government officials last week pointed to Pakistan. But in private, the Prime Minister says that eruptions like those in Bombay and Punjab are inevitable in a country with as many people and passionately held beliefs as India. With considerable support from sociologists, she argues that democracy and increasing economic opportunities have raised aspirations, increasing competition and conflict. It is better, she argues, to let off steam in relatively small explosions at widely separated times and places than to keep the lid on with autocratic repression and risk a big explosion that could bring down the entire house.

Nevertheless, the intensity and frequency of political violence has clearly increased during the 1980's, an analyst who recently returned to India after a 10-year absence observed. Apart from the human misery and considerable economic damage to Punjab, the latest violence has exposed weaknesses and darker aspects of In-

dian democracy. The massacres in Assam, the Hindu-Moslem killings in Bombay and the Punjabi terrorism were all instigated, begun or exacerbated by groups seeking political advantage — student activists in Assam, Hindu-Maratha chauvinists in Bombay and Sikh politicians in Punjab. India has been hard put to deal with such challenges — and to prevent the resulting bloodshed, terror and economic ruin — without resorting to actions that smack of police-state methods.

In Punjab, virtually all civil liberties have been at least temporarily scrapped in an army clampdown. India's Constitution and laws permit harsh measures in such situations, but the fact that they were employed demonstrated an apparent failure of the democratic system to cope with hostile internal forces.

Moreover, as long as the army keeps news reporters and other outsiders from traveling in Punjab except on tightly controlled military tours, there is no way of knowing what excesses might be committed.

Electoral Concerns

According to one report, soldiers have even shot policemen in their zeal to maintain control. There is no way to verify army accounts of what happened at the Golden Temple, the official death count, or whether the thousands of extremists the army says are still at large are really terrorists.

Finally, the democratic requirement for consensus evidently played a part in the long delay in dealing with Punjab, until more massive force became necessary. Mrs. Gandhi had to take care not to set off a rebellion among India's 14 million Sikhs, by raiding the Golden Temple. Yet she also had to accommodate the overwhelming Hindu majority that was showing signs of extreme impatience. With an election expected later this year, she had to move. So far, her draconian measures seem to have found general favor among the Hindus.

But Sikhs, not surprisingly, have reacted angrily. The rebellion in the army was the most serious and dramatic example, and there were other violent protests, in-



Armed Sikh at the Golden Temple in Amritsar several days before it was attacked on June 6 by Indian troops.

cluding the murder yesterday in Punjab of a leader of Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party.

Calm seemed to return after a few days, but it was unclear what seeds of bitterness and possible conflict may have been sown among Sikhs at large.

"It is the worst mistake she ever made," an educated, middle-class Sikh who is not remotely a militant, said of Mrs. Gandhi's action. "She'll never live it down."

Moscow May Try to Bring the Italian Communists Into the Fold

Enrico Berlinguer and His Cult of Personality

By PAUL HOFMANN

ROME — The death last week of Enrico Berlinguer, the Italian Communist leader, brought hundreds of thousands of mourners to Rome for a display that helped explain why his party is the second most powerful in Italy and the biggest Marxist force in the West. When he was stricken by a brain hemorrhage, Mr. Berlinguer was campaigning hard to insure a good showing for the party in elections today for the European Parliament. That wish seems likely to come true.

But the main issue now is not how many deputies the Communists will send to the ineffectual parliament in Strasbourg but rather what kind of a force the party will be after Berlinguer. Will it continue his line of circumspect independence from the Soviet Union or return to following the Kremlin's line?

Mr. Berlinguer was the first high-ranking Communist in Europe to concede publicly he was feeling "more secure" under the umbrella of the Atlantic alliance than outside. He also caused a stir by declaring, after the military takeover in Poland, that the societies of Eastern Europe had lost the "thrill" of the October Revolution — in other words, they were no longer to be taken as models. He had precedents. His best-known predecessor, Palmiro Togliatti, talked of an Italian road to socialism in 1956, after Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalinism and the Italian party started losing members.

To the Kremlin, Mr. Berlinguer's brand of Eurocommunism was dangerous heresy that might spread elsewhere in the family of Communist parties. The Spanish Communists tried it for a time until they split and the powerful French party has flirted with it on occasion. Mr. Berlinguer also made the Russians wince when he played his "China card" by visiting Peking twice in the last few years. However, Mr. Berlinguer, like Togliatti, prudently avoided an open break with the Soviet leadership. And Moscow avoided a tough stand toward a party that consistently gets the vote of one Italian in three. The Kremlin indicated the importance of the ideological and political stakes in Mr. Berlinguer's succession by sending its presumed No. 2 man, Mikhail Gorbachev, to Rome for the funeral.

Mr. Gorbachev presumably wanted to gauge the mood in the Italian Communist leadership and assess the chances of a change to a pro-Soviet stance. The Soviet delegation did not publicly mingle with the Chinese group, led by Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang. There were also the French Communist chief, Georges Marchais, and representatives from many other Communist parties, who all appeared anxious to offer advice to their Italian comrades.

New Soviet pressure on the Italians to line up cannot be ruled out. Mr. Berlinguer was faced last year with an attempt at a pro-Moscow revolt in his party, but managed to crush it with the help of an uneasy coalition of factions within the Italian Communist leadership. The opposition to Mr. Berlinguer was led by a Stalinist diehard, Armando Cossutta, and supported by possibly 15 percent of the rank and file. Moscow covertly aided the rebels. Mr. Cossutta is today isolated within his party's apparatus, but he may be egged on to try again.

For the moment the Communist leaders appear determined to prevent a party split, and may agree on some formula for collective leadership by diluting the powers that Mr. Berlinguer wielded. No outstanding candidate to replace him has yet emerged from the 33-member party Directorate. In death Mr. Berlinguer generated so much popular excitement and fervor that his followers may be strengthened to withstand new pressure by Moscow.

Marxist Reconciliation?

The principal division in the Directorate is between those who want to continue Mr. Berlinguer's policies without any adjustment, and a group seeking to renew collaboration with the Socialists. The Communists and Socialists were close allies for 30 years after World War II, but have drifted apart since then. Bettino Craxi, the Socialist Prime Minister, stresses his party's pro-Western stand and some of his economic austerity measures have aroused Communist opposition.

Mr. Berlinguer had for years advocated a "historical compromise," a long-term alliance between Italy's Communists and Roman Catholics. Behind the scenes, many deals were struck with the Christian Democratic Party but nothing ever came of the historical compromise. The influence of the Christian Democrats, long dominant in Italian politics, has waned, encouraging some ranking Italian Communists to turn again toward the Socialists as possible partners. The Communists are worried about being on the wane too. Young people, who once flocked to the party, now seem to favor more radical groups.

The national upsurge of grief at the death of the sad-faced Mr. Berlinguer, who never seemed to court popularity, surprised his own party. The fact that he lived austerely and never was implicated in any of Italy's uncounted corruption scandals may explain why many Italians who surely aren't Communists sincerely mourn him.

President Sandro Pertini, a Socialist, was at Mr. Berlinguer's bedside, took his body in a military aircraft to Rome, and wept at the funeral. The Pope sent word he was praying for the Communist leader, whose final moments dominated press and television all week long.

The Enemies Within

A Corner of Africa Where Tension Is Contagious

By JUDITH MILLER

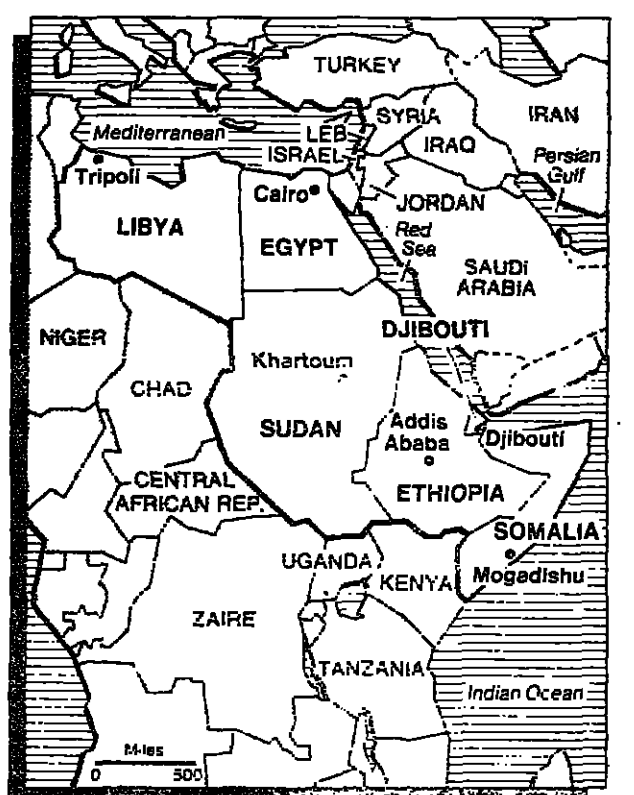
ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — Verbal and military skirmishing has intensified recently in the Horn of Africa, where President Gaafar al-Nimeiry of Sudan says neighboring Ethiopia and Libya and the Soviet Union are waging a "secret war" against his country. He has accused Ethiopia of helping the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement and other rebels in the south to sow dissension and unrest. The rebels have declared war on Sudan's Islamic path, General Nimeiry adds, referring to growing unrest since he proclaimed Islamic law for all 21 million Sudanese, including the many non-Moslems among the country's six million southerners.

Last week, a Sudanese military communiqué said rebels had crossed into southern Sudan from Ethiopia early this month and were turned back. The communiqué claimed 255 rebels and eight soldiers were killed in two actions.

For its part, Ethiopia has pointed to the flood of Sudanese refugees across its borders — recently as many as 800 a day — as evidence of "maladministration" by the Nimeiry Government. "Sudanese in the south have been mistreated," said Annet Kinde, governor of the border region of Illubabor. "They have been deprived of their right to worship and suffered economic discrimination."

Both socialist Ethiopia, which is allied with the Soviet Union, and Western-oriented Sudan face internal threats with foreign policy implications. Ethiopia's Marxist Government, headed by Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, is continuing a 23-year-old battle it inherited against Eritrean secessionists in the north. A secessionist struggle is also going on in Tigré, the province adjoining Eritrea. President Nimeiry faces the growing insurgency in the south. Each Government has accused the other of aiding its rebels. Mr. Nimeiry says a million Ethiopians are in Sudan but denies that his Government is helping Eritrean rebel groups. Similarly, Ethiopia has denied Sudanese charges that Libyan-financed training camps are training Sudanese rebels along the border.

The two countries had planned to discuss their differences in March. But Ethiopia canceled the meeting, much to the disappointment of Egypt, which had helped plan it. Egypt, the United States and Cairo's other Western friends are concerned about the growing tension. Egypt has an eight-year-old defense pact with the Sudan. It shares Nile River waters with Sudan and Ethiopia and regards their encouragement of each other's secessionists as dangerous. "The dissolution of Ethiopia's empire



would inevitably mean the separation of the south from Sudan," an Egyptian official said. "Secessionism in this part of the world is contagious."

Ethiopia's relations with Somalia, another neighbor, have also been strained. In 1977 and 1978, they fought fiercely over the Ogaden, a rocky scrubland that has constituted the eastern quarter of Ethiopia since the late 19th century, although its inhabitants are largely ethnic Somalis. The Ogaden war is apparently over, but border skirmishing persists. Nomads along the border carry rifles as commonly as their traditional walking sticks. Ethiopian officials insist that the Western Somali Liberation Front, which takes responsibility for many of the border incursions, is little more than a front for the Somali Army. As with the Sudanese, political tension surrounds the migration of ethnic Somalis into Ethiopia. Their numbers and nationalities are hotly disputed. Migrants from Sudan, Djibouti and Somalia are a financial burden that Ethiopia can ill afford, its officials say, when 5.2 million Ethiopians are pinched by drought.

Through the centuries, Ethiopia has been intent on keeping its empire together. A Christian nation whose Coptic church dates from the fifth century, it has experienced repeated invasions from Islamic armies, notably one in the 14th century by Ahmed Gran, known as Ahmed the Left-handed. Until he was deposed in 1974, Emperor Haile Selassie dealt with external and internal threats with the help of American-equipped and -trained forces. Since the 1975 revolution, Ethiopia has fought off similar challenges with an estimated \$3 billion of Soviet arms.

But Ethiopia has at times seemed interested in breaking its close alliance with Moscow. In 1980, it made an impressive effort to improve relations with Sudan and to shift to a more nonaligned policy. But in 1981, Ethiopia joined in a pact with Marxist South Yemen and revolutionary Libya, a source of its oil supplies.

Recently, foreigners in Addis Ababa have again detected signs of strain with Moscow. In March, two Soviet diplomats were accused of meddling in Ethiopian internal politics and expelled. President Mengistu's trip to Moscow later the same month was scheduled to last 10 days; it was cut short after only two days. Ethiopian officials said no new Soviet economic aid for refugees would be forthcoming. But most political analysts in Addis Ababa think the Russians intend to stay in Ethiopia indefinitely. On the 10th anniversary of the ouster of Haile Selassie in September, President Mengistu plans to inaugurate his long-planned Working People's Party, which is intended to provide a broader and firmer Communist base for his revolution.



A supporter gestures farewell to Enrico Berlinguer at a funeral ceremony in Rome last week.

The Nation

Mondale Opens His Search for A Running Mate

Whether they're on the short list or a long one, the people Walter F. Mondale said last week he'd start with were no surprise.

First to be interviewed for the No. 2 spot on the former Vice President's Presidential ticket will be Mayor Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco and Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas. The apparent Democratic nominee had said he would consider a woman, and Mr. Bentsen has been actively promoted by conservative and moderate Southerners. More interviewees are to be named soon. They will not include Governor Cuomo, who said he told Mr. Mondale last week that he wanted to complete his term in Albany, but presumably will include a representative of a minority group. Mr. Mondale so promised some time ago. A spokesman for Senator Gary Hart, who said again last week that the race for the nomination "is not over until it's over" but called for unity before the party's platform committee, said Mr. Hart had so far not been approached.

Mr. Mondale has not said if his final choice will be announced before the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco next month. His boss in the White House, Jimmy Carter, was the first recent Presidential candidate to personally interview possible running mates at his home; Mr. Mondale was selected at the party convention in New York.

After a week's vacation, Mr. Mondale was in a general election mode. On a swing to Houston and Texas's Democratic state convention, he challenged President Reagan to a series of debates on specific issues from economic and foreign policy to "how to prepare our children for the future." In a press conference last week Mr. Reagan said he wouldn't duck a debate, as former President Carter was quoted as saying he would. Mr. Carter actually had said Mr. Reagan would avoid a series.

Mr. Reagan also fielded a question on a current political embarrassment deriving from 1980, the charges that the Reagan campaign purloined Carter strategy papers. His aides' differing recollections of the affair, he said, were "easily understandable." A Federal appeals court will hear oral arguments this week on whether a special prosecutor should be appointed to investigate.

Job Security For Censors

The Reagan Administration's fretting about secrecy doesn't appear to have plugged many leaks, but, unless the rules are changed, it seems to have guaranteed years of steady work for the Government's blue-pencil specialists. More than 120,000 of the Government's civilian and military employees have agreed that for the rest of their lives they will submit for screening any speech, article or book they write that touches on

the sources and methods of intelligence gathering, the General Accounting Office said in a report released last week.

The agreements were required under a fresh, farther-reaching interpretation of existing regulations that the Administration implemented in 1981. An even broader censorship requirement was subsequently proposed and then withdrawn after strong objections from Capitol Hill. Some members of Congress found last week's findings disturbing enough. "The executive branch without any significant degree of consultation with Congress," said Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland and a senior member of the Judiciary Committee, "has put in place a program of censorship that is, on the basis of what we know now, demonstrably not needed." Representative Jack Brooks, Democrat of Texas and chairman of the Government Operations Committee, has introduced legislation that would limit prepublication reviews to employees of the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency.

The accounting office study also found a sharp increase in the number of books and articles being given a security once-over. In 1981, for example, the Defense Department conducted 2,784 such reviews; by the end of 1983, the total had risen to 10,088. The G.A.O. report was based on replies from 43 different agencies.

Antitrust Rules Are Modified

Companies with the urge to merge may find the Justice Department less inclined to say "no" under new antitrust guidelines announced last week by Attorney General William French Smith. Among other things, the department will give greater weight to the pressure of foreign competition and to the claimed improvements in efficiency that a merger would bring.

Mr. Smith and J. Paul McGrath, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the antitrust division, caught considerable flak from business executives and from Adminis-



The New York Times/George Tames
J. Paul McGrath

tration colleagues earlier in the year over the department's handling of a proposed merger between the Republic Steel Corporation and LTV Corporation. Mr. McGrath said then that in considering the economic effects of the merger he hadn't factored in Japanese- and European-made steel because its sales in this country were restricted by import restraints. He said he would have challenged the proposal in any event, and later approved a merger after the companies to sell off some mills.

Last week, a spokesman for Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, who had called Justice's original opposition to the Republic-LTV merger "a world-class mistake," said his boss was pleased with the revisions because they would permit more mergers and this would make American industry more competitive. Mr. Smith denied that his antitrust division would henceforth pull its punches. "Our policies will remain very largely the same under the new guidelines," he said.

A Sticking Point On the Deficit

As even the optimists had feared, members of Congress negotiating the "down payment on the deficit" stumbled over a procedural matter into stalemate politics last week and stayed stuck there.

The procedural issue turned on priorities. While the Senate would reduce deficits by \$141 billion by 1987, the House would save \$182 billion. What is more crucial to the dispute is that the House would take twice as much from the Pentagon as the Senate would. To insure that savings achieved in military outlays not be redistributed to popular social programs, Senate Republicans are insisting on separate three-year caps to lock in ceilings on military and domestic spending.

House Democrats say such a move would be a breach of the budget process. Representative James R. Jones, the Oklahoma Democrat who is chairman of the House Budget Committee, voiced their real concern after a conference closed last week without even a date to meet again. "Obviously," he said, "the Senate is trying to blow the whole thing up" so the Democrats can be blamed for scuttling the deficit reduction plan.

Things moved more smoothly on tax issues, where agreement on some major points was reached before negotiations started two weeks ago. Senator Bob Dole, the Kansas Republican who is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Representative Dan Rostenkowski, the Illinois Democrat who heads the House Ways and Means Committee, set a Tuesday evening deadline for reaching their three-year goal of \$50 billion in new revenues and promised to send President Reagan "half the down payment" before Congress recesses June 29.

In a press conference last week, Mr. Reagan said he would sign a tax package if he "had assurance that the spending package was coming along." The White House expressed more confidence about the economy. Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes saw "a double shot" in reports that wholesale prices remained unchanged in May while industrial production rose just four-tenths of 1 percent. But signs of a noninflationary slowdown were not enough to soothe deficit-anxious Wall Street. On fears that higher interest rates are inevitable, the market closed down for the week 44.35 points.

Michael Wright,
Caroline Rand Herron
and Carlyle C. Douglas

Unionists and Others Increased Participation

Who voted in the Democratic primaries

		Primary voters		Group as percent of all Democrats	Group as percent of total population
		in millions	in percent		
Sex	Men	7.85	48%	54	48%
	Women	9.09	54	54	52
Race	White	13.14	78	75	84
	Black	3.05	18	22	12
	White men	6.21	37	35	40
	White women	6.92	41	40	44
	Black men	1.31	8	10	5
	Black women	1.83	11	12	6
Age	18-29	2.89	17	25	30
	30-44	5.20	31	28	28
	45-59	4.02	24	24	21
	60 and older	4.82	28	25	21
	Men under 45	3.83	21	24	28
	Men 45 and older	4.17	25	22	20
	Women under 45	4.46	26	27	30
	Women 45 and older	4.68	28	26	22
Family income	Under \$25,000	9.18	54	61	55
	\$25,000 and over	7.78	46	39	45
	Men under \$25,000	3.99	24	27	26
	Men \$25,000 and over	3.90	23	20	23
	Women under \$25,000	5.13	30	33	28
	Women \$25,000 and over	3.91	23	19	22
Education	Less than high school	2.41	14	32	27
	High school graduate	5.54	33	41	40
	Some college	4.51	27	16	17
	College graduate	4.48	26	11	16
Ideology	Liberal	4.49	27	21	18
	Moderate	7.97	47	47	44
	Conservative	3.64	21	25	31
Union household		5.57	33	30	25

Totals and percentages were calculated from exit polls conducted in all 24 delegate selection primary states except Louisiana, in which no exit poll was done. Eleven of the polls, in the biggest states, were New York Times/CBS News Polls, and 7 were by CBS News alone, three by NBC News and two by ABC News. State vote totals, combined here with exit poll percentages to compute a projected national Democratic primary electorate, are from Secretaries of State and Congressional Quarterly. In California the vote distribution comes from the Times/CBS News exit poll, showing 40 percent to Hart, 38 percent to Mondale and 18 percent to Jackson. All Democrats' and "total population" percentages are from the April Times/CBS News Poll.

Turnout Cheers Democrats

By ADAM CLYMER

Despite what it brought up in harsh words and ill feelings, the Democratic Presidential primary campaign also brought out an electorate of almost 17 million. Its composition offers encouragement to the party for November. Blacks, women, union members and even members of the so-called postwar baby boom generation made up a bigger share of Democratic primary voters this time than they usually do. These groups—along with the elderly—are, in the minds of most Democratic strategists, the key to unseating President Reagan.

A New York Times computer model of the primary electorate, using exit polls of all delegate selection primaries except Louisiana's, where no one did an exit poll, showed that, while the traditional patterns of heavier primary voting among the educated and the better-off continued, they were muted in 1984. The groups on whom Democrats depend were enticed at least part way into the election process; while unity efforts and an effective general election campaign are still crucial to getting them to the polls in November, the primaries provided a start.

The increasing dependence of the Democrats on the poor and minorities, groups that usually don't vote much, has been cited by such writers as Thomas B. Edsall, in a recently published book, as one of the reasons for their weakness in recent years. In "The New Politics of Inequality," he writes that Democrats have "become increasingly dependent for support on groups that do not turn out well at election time." The 1984 primary figures suggest this is changing.

Another expert on primary voting, Byron Shafer, found The Times figures hopeful for Democrats. Voters from union households cast 33 percent of primary votes though they represent only 30 percent of all Democrats, he noted, but in other years, union voters "are probably underrepresented." Similarly, Mr. Shafer, a resident scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation, noted that blacks made up 18 percent of primary voters, or almost as big a share as the 22 percent of all Democratic adherents they constitute. But that figure marked higher than usual black participation, he said. "In a normal year that distinction would be much worse."

Such a study of who voted in all the primaries has not

been done before, so firm comparisons with the past are impossible. One pattern that did look traditional was the education breakdown. People with less than a high school education made up only 14 percent of the primary electorate, but amount to 32 percent of all Democrats. But college graduates are 26 percent of this year's primary voters, while they make up only 11 percent of all self-identified Democrats.

Just as blacks had a champion who brought them to the polls (the Rev. Jesse Jackson got 76 percent of their votes), so did the people in two age categories whose votes were disproportionate to their share of the Democratic population generally.

The Value of the Older Voter

One of them was the 30-year-old to 44-year-old group, who gave Gary Hart 38 percent of their votes. They cast 31 percent of the votes. But they constitute only 26 percent of all self-identified Democrats. The other was Mr. Mondale's best group, voters 60 and older. They gave him 53 percent of their votes. As they usually do, they turned out a bit more heavily than their weight in the general Democratic population, casting 28 percent of all primary votes.

Commenting on the findings, Ann F. Lewis, political director of the Democratic National Committee, drew particular attention to the turnout of women. She noted that Census Bureau studies have found that not until the 1980 election did women vote in the same percentages as men did, after years of being less likely to go to the polls. Mrs. Lewis said that until this year women were considerably less likely than men to vote in primaries. So the fact that women made up 54 percent of the voters as well as 54 percent of all Democrats, she said, shows an increase that matters in a year when her party hopes to capitalize on the gender gap.

Since delegate selection primaries are not held in all states, and overall turnout varies widely, the primary voting figures are not a clear blueprint for the fall. But the patterns seemed significant, without being so badly skewed as to make Democratic voters seem unrepresentative, as they may have in 1972, when Senator George McGovern was nominated by party insurgents. As Mr. Shafer said of the likely ratification of Mr. Mondale, "being nominated under these conditions, you are not a fluke."

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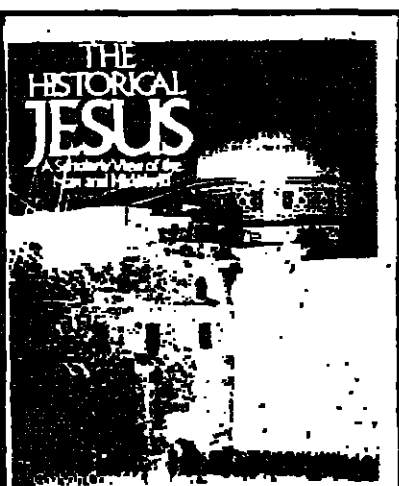
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Trouble Stalks the Magic Kingdom

By THOMAS C. HAYES

LOS ANGELES
JUNE 9 was supposed to have been an especially festive day in the wonderful world of Disney. The guardians of the world's best-known cartoon characters planned to reap a publicity bonanza as Donald Duck's image was beamed around the globe in an elaborately staged promotion marking the famous duck's 50th birthday.

But at the headquarters of Walt Disney Productions in nearby Burbank, it was Saul P. Steinberg, the New York financier, who stole the show in a takeover nightmare come to life. By the end of last week, the company that was built on America's love of laughter and fantasy emerged bloodied from its fight to stay independent, staggered by a new load of debt taken on to buy out Mr. Steinberg and humbled by the huge sell-off in Disney stock that sent the price of its shares plummeting more than 16 points. The question being widely asked on Wall Street and in Hollywood was whether Disney's freedom had been won by too heavily mortgaging its future.

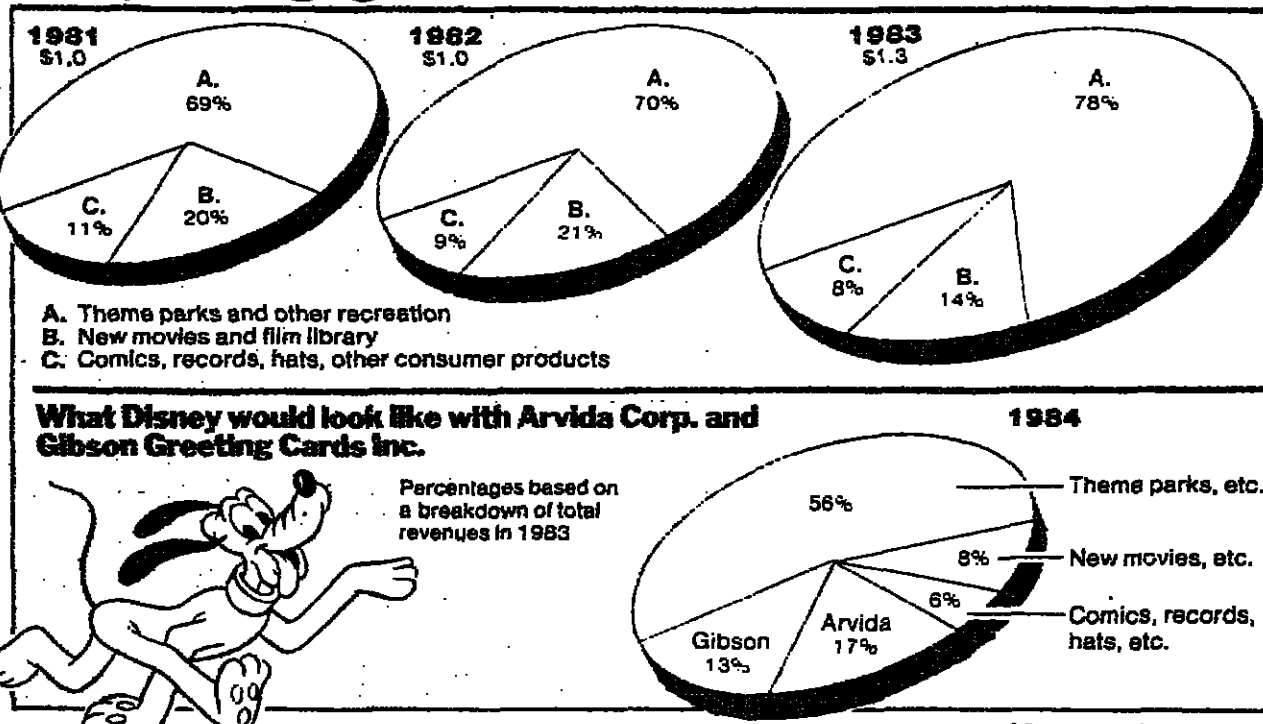
The four-month battle of nerves with Mr. Steinberg has transformed the company into a vastly different entity that includes powerful new stockholders and new lines of business, real estate development and greeting cards. The company's financial strength has been sapped, temporarily at least, and a weaker, less focused Disney may result, analysts say.

Ironically, this change comes just as Disney expected to celebrate its first year of rising profits since 1980. Instead, analysts now worry that Disney may be unable to sustain its recent successes.

"One of the objectives here was to have peace reign in the Magic Kingdom again," said Harold L. Vogel, an

Disney's Changing Profile

Total sales revenues in billions, divisions in percentages



sealing its first effort to put more shares in friendly hands, Disney completed a \$200 million deal to buy the Arvida Corporation, a Florida-based upper-crust resort and community development concern, for 3.3 million newly issued shares. The same day, Disney announced an agreement to acquire Gibson Greetings Inc. for \$310 million, or 6.2 million shares of new stock. Although some analysts have questioned whether Disney will proceed with the Gibson purchase, Disney insists it will.

The buyout of Mr. Steinberg, executed with \$325.5 million in borrowed cash, nearly doubled Disney's long-term debt in one stroke. The company

squeezed further and its plans for new programs scaled back, according to some former Disney employees, who asked not to be identified. The channel passed the 1-million mark for subscribers in April.

The balance sheet and growth plans are not the only crucial elements that could undergo change at Disney, a company long controlled by family members and headed today by Ronald L. Miller, Walt Disney's son-in-law. Now some savvy, multimillionaire outsiders have been brought in as major shareholders in the deals for Arvida and Gibson.

They include the wealthy Bass Brothers of Texas, who will own 5.7 percent of the stock once the Gibson transaction is completed, as well as William E. Simon, the former Treasury Secretary, and his partner, Raymond G. Chambers, each of whom will have 3.5 percent.

Their attitudes toward Disney management presumably are cordial, but all are free to increase their holdings, which could lead to another bid for control — and even another "greenmail" attempt à la Steinberg. Moreover, the Bass family already has an ally on the Disney board, Charles E. Cobb Jr., Arvida's chairman and chief executive. Thomas M. Cooney, Gibson's president and chief executive, is to be elected to the board once that acquisition is wrapped up.

In the meantime, Roy E. Disney, son of a co-founder and now the company's most vocal dissident, is a wild card. He could quickly raise the decibel level again at the company, some say. Mr. Disney, 54, once produced nature films for the weekly Disney network program and, at times, clashed with Mr. Miller, who outranked him. Mr. Disney has 4.3 percent of the stock and last week was increasing that, his spokesman said. Over all, Disney family members, including Roy Disney, owned an estimated 12 to 15 percent of the company's shares at the end of March. With the exception of Roy Disney, family members are said to remain loyal to Disney management.

The biggest task that now faces Disney, according to analysts, is to sustain what appeared to be a turnaround. Theme park attendance is rising despite higher admission charges. The much-criticized movie unit produced two hits this year — "Splash," which scored \$63 million at

domestic box offices, and "Never Cry Wolf," at \$30 million.

The Disney Channel loss during the quarter ended in March was narrowed to \$9 million, the lowest since it began operating in April 1983. Profits from its smaller merchandising division, which sells books and records and handles licensing rights for Mickey Mouse and other cartoon characters, are up slightly for the first half of the fiscal year, although they fell \$2 million, to \$15.8 million, in the second fiscal quarter. And the company's treasured film library, which will be tapped this year for reissues of "The Jungle Book," "Pete's Dragon" and "Pinocchio" is considered a reliable — if not spectacular — source of cash. Profits from reissued films often exceed \$30 million a year.

"What you see is a company whose operating earnings surged significantly during this quarter," Mr. Isgur said. "It's still a tremendous company, with great assets. But there is so much dust in the air you can't make a good assessment of what the future earnings will be."

Last year the company brought in \$1.3 billion in revenues, a Disney record, but profits dropped for the third straight year, to \$93.2 million, or \$2.70 a share.

The amount of cash generated from Disney's operations has increased steadily in recent years, to \$337.4 million last year, plus another \$153.2 million in the first half of its 1984 fiscal year, which ends Sept. 30.

Moreover, its heavy investments at Epcot Center, now totaling off, helped produce a tax refund of \$2.7 million in the first six months of this fiscal year. That was slightly more than the \$9 million it budgeted for its rising roster of feature films, plus programs for the Disney Channel.

Numbers like these give true believers the hope that Disney's profits and dividends will soon begin climbing, after the long years of building the \$1 billion Epcot and big budget busts in the movie division.

But the recent fireworks may have damaged that prospect. Most analysts say that Disney's appeal as a takeover target has been tarnished by the heavy new debt, by the additional 5.3 million shares that will be outstanding after the Gibson closing, and by the new businesses that have to be

The Economy

woven into Disney operations. They do not, however, write off the possibility of another assault.

"These things rarely get resuscitated, but there are still several significant shareholders kicking around so you can't rule out anything," said Gordon Crawford, an analyst with the Capital Research Group here.

Still, he thinks the fact that Roy Disney played no role in Mr. Steinberg's attack revealed him to be an "ineffective" threat to the company and added that Disney is not likely to be besieged again soon.

"You have a company that has been through the wringer once and has expressed a willingness to do anything to thwart a takeover," Mr. Crawford said. "Even a prospective robber baron, looking at this situation, might be discouraged."

In the meantime, Disney must adjust to a new profile. If Arvida and Gibson had been part of the Disney family last year (and their calendar-year results were added to Disney's fiscal year, which ends in September) the two companies, respectively, would have ranked No. 2 and No. 3 as Disney's most important revenue producers, following the theme parks.

Those parks — the Walt Disney World, Epcot Center and Disneyland, — contributed \$1 billion of the company's \$1.3 billion in revenues last year. Although attendance in Florida was off by 17 percent through March, weekly reports now are matching ones from a year ago, according to Erwin D. Okun, a Disney spokesman.



Ronald Miller of Disney

Still, Disney is concerned that Epcot, a sort of high-tech, permanent world's fair, may have trouble attracting repeat business. Attendance is running about 10 percent ahead of last year at Disneyland, where a \$46 million Fantasyland opened a year ago.

Movies and the Disney Channel contributed \$165.5 million, with licensing and merchandising another \$110.7 million.

Arvida, with revenues of \$320 million, and Gibson, with \$240.6 million, would have lifted Disney revenues by 43 percent in 1983. Profits would have been 56 percent higher, with \$30 million at Arvida and \$22.4 million at Gibson.

Analysts who revised their earnings estimates last week for Disney for this year and 1985, hedging a bit because of the sketchy numbers available on privately held Arvida, expect that Arvida and Gibson will increase Disney's earnings per share.

David Londoner, of Wertheim &

Company, said he raised his 1984 estimate by 40 cents, to \$3.60 a share, and by 30 cents for 1985, to \$4.15 a share, a range representative of Wall Street's quick reading of the new Disney.

But the uncertainty is greater than before, Mr. Londoner said, because rising interest rates could slash Arvida's profits, most of which are derived from land sales to developers. Arvida's key land holding, with 20,000 acres, is 20 minutes north of Miami.

At Gibson, the company's president, Thomas M. Cooney, said executives there were "excited" by Disney's offer. Gibson already has licensed Garfield the Cat and characters from the "Sesame Street" television program, but Mr. Cooney indicated that he regarded the chance to get Disney's characters, now licensed to Hallmark, as a direct hit against the card industry giant. The company's gift-wrap division already had rights to the Disney characters.

Analysts said, however, that Mr. Cooney's enthusiasm may be more directly tied to the millions that he and other Gibson executives, plus Mr. Simon and Mr. Chambers, stand to make in Disney stock. They acquired Gibson from the RCA Corporation in 1982 for \$80 million, but put up only \$1 million in cash. The rest was financed by selling most of Gibson's real estate and borrowing against the rest of Gibson's assets.

Mr. Miller, 51, Disney's president, defends Disney's decision to buy Gibson, terming it a good fit with Disney's merchandising unit. That business produced a whopping \$56.8 million in pretax profit last year. Analysts welcomed Arvida as a logical answer to Disney's problem of developing its Florida land, which includes a total of 27,000 acres, but were less certain about Gibson's role.

"It's difficult on the face of it to see the synergism between a motion picture-entertainment company and a greeting card business," said Clifford Miller, the spokesman for Roy E. Disney. "This concerns us very much."

Many analysts also remain skeptical about the Gibson deal. "I doubt that Disney's fortunes are going to rise or fall on whether they sell more Mickey Mouse cards," said Fred Anselmi, an analyst with Dean Witter Inc.

Mr. Watson, a Disney director for 10 years who became chairman a year ago, strongly defended the Gibson acquisition, arguing that profits at Gibson, as at Arvida, are growing faster than Disney's, and that both companies are well managed.

"We don't focus on what somebody else sold something for, or what they paid for it," he told reporters. "What we focus on is, what is it worth to us and our shareholders and that's our entire concentration. If somebody made a huge profit, God bless them."

Not everyone is willing to let it go at that. Investors were furious after seeing the price of Disney stock plummet to \$49.50 a share by the close of trading on Friday from \$55.13 on June 8. Since then, Disney's market value has fallen by more than one-fourth, over \$600 million.

On Wall Street, those howls of protest were also linked with calls for Congress to cut off what many institutional money managers regard as "greenmail," the tactics practiced by Mr. Steinberg and other experienced corporate raiders. The protests do not stop there. Five organizations, including the Securities and Exchange Commission, last week initiated investigations into possible insider trading violations relating to the sharp sell-off of Disney shares prior to the announcement of the Steinberg buyout last Monday.

Disney bet the company to remain independent. Analysts wonder if the price was too high.

analyst with Merrill Lynch Inc., referring to Disney's decision to buy out Mr. Steinberg. "But it's a somewhat weaker company over all, because these things were done in haste and in the heat of battle."

Under the sweeping corporate transformation put into place last week, Disney's revenues remain dominated by its renowned theme parks, Walt Disney World and Epcot Center near Orlando, Fla., and Disneyland, in Anaheim, Calif. But the company now has a bigger stake in Florida real estate development and if a second acquisition is completed, as anticipated, birthday cards will play a more important role in the company than the feature films that made Disney a household name.

Under last week's agreement, Disney said it would pay \$297.5 million, or \$70.38 a share, plus another \$28 million in expenses, for Mr. Steinberg to give back his 11.1 percent stake in the company, to call off a \$1.3 billion offer for 49 percent of Disney and to promise not to buy another piece of the Magic Kingdom for 10 years.

That new added debt, however, came on top of another defensive — and expensive — move. On June 6,

assumed another \$190 million with Arvida, and will tack on another \$11 million with Gibson. The result will be a jump in long-term debt to \$850 million, from \$350.5 million at the end of March, with equity holding steady at about \$1.4 billion.

That new borrowing, which has pushed Disney's debt-equity ratio to about 60 percent, and debt as a percent of total capital to 40 percent, could cast a long shadow over the company's future.

For starters, Disney is likely to drop at least one notch soon from its A-1 plus credit rating. Many analysts say Disney probably will have to go slower in its efforts to develop the 15,000 virgin acres it owns near fast-growing Orlando and scale back its plan to increase its slate of movies.

An alternative, according to Lee Isgur, entertainment analyst at Paine Webber Inc., would be to bring in more partners in real estate and feature films, a practice shunned by the quality-conscious Disney in the past.

The year-old Disney Channel, already under tight cost controls to break even at 2 million cable subscribers sometime in 1985, could be

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Volcker Comments Renew Stock Slide

Interest rate fears returned in force last week, accelerating the decline that has beset the stock market since the beginning of the year. The Dow Jones industrial average on Thursday closed under the psychological 1,100 level for the first time in nearly 18 months. It fell another 10.86 points on Friday, ending the week at 1,086.90, down 44.35. The fall was spurred in part by remarks from the Fed chairman, Paul A. Volcker, who warned that a credit squeeze, both in the public and private sectors, was putting heavy upward pressure on interest rates. And he said that the "elements" contributing to the robust recovery "cannot be sustained indefinitely."

The credit markets belied fears of a tightening monetary policy. Rates posted a sharp rise on Monday, but were lackluster for most of the week, even with an unexpectedly large \$3.1 billion increase in the basic money supply. But on Friday, bond prices rose sharply as speculators anticipated a better market if Congress eliminates the 30 percent withholding tax on interest paid to some foreign investors.

Industrial production rose four-tenths of 1 percent in May, the 18th consecutive increase but the smallest gain since November. Other economic indicators released last week support the firm belief of analysts — and Mr. Volcker — that the economy is slowing. Prices at the producer level were flat in May, with a sharp drop in food prices offsetting rises in energy costs. Retail sales rose just two-tenths of 1 percent in May. Business inventories rose 1.5 percent in April; the inventory-sales ratio rose to 1.34.



Paul A. Volcker

Argentina appears to be playing a game of wits with its creditors and the International Monetary Fund in defying demands made by the I.M.F. staff and proposing its own austerity plan. President Raúl Alfonsín apparently believes that such a plan is the only way to satisfy labor at home and creditors abroad. The pressure on Argentina was stepped up with the United States' refusal to extend a \$300 million bridge loan that was tied to agreement with the I.M.F., and the passing of an interest payments deadline. But there was surprisingly little immediate concern. The focus now shifts to the I.M.F. negotiations and June 30 deadlines for bank earnings reports. Meanwhile, other debtor nations could follow Argentina's lead in resisting the I.M.F., endangering their loans and thus the profits and stability of creditor banks.

Saul P. Steinberg abruptly reversed himself and allowed Walt Disney Productions to buy back his 11 percent stake for \$325.5 million, a profit of \$31.9 million plus \$28 million in expenses. But market reaction was not favorable: Disney stock plunged in heavy trading, and some outraged analysts and investors warned that the deal could spur legislation prohibiting such "greenmail." The Securities and Exchange Commission and the Big Board, meanwhile, are looking into possible insider trading of Disney shares before Mr. Steinberg's acquiescence was announced.

The steel and copper industries are both being hurt by competition from imports, the International Trade Commission ruled. It urged that trade barriers, such as quotas or tariffs, be erected to protect the domestic industries while they reposition themselves. Such protection would likely lead to price increases. Given the importance of steel-producing and copper-using states in the Presidential election, the issue could become political rather than economic.

A conference on monetary policy is likely in the next few years. At the London summit meeting, the United States apparently indicated that the strength of the dollar was beginning to cause it some concern, and dropped its opposition to a conference to discuss new monetary policy.

Soviet allies had a summit meeting of their own, the first in 15 years. The Comecon leaders decided to try to integrate their economies to reduce reliance on the West, although such nations as East Germany and Poland with strong economic ties to the West were reported to have dissented.

Continental Illinois National Bank has been jilted by two potential suitors, First Chicago and Chemical Bank. The Illinois Legislature appears headed toward passage of a bill to allow an out-of-state bank to acquire Continental, but analysts said time and available buyers appear to be running out.

The Jewel Companies gave up attempts to fight off American Stores and agreed to be acquired for \$1.16 billion. American had been courting Jewel for months, but the talks had broken off several times as Jewel exhausted its options. The deal would create the nation's third-largest supermarket and drugstore chain.

Creusot-Loire, the big French industrial manufacturer, threatened to go into receivership rather than accept a Government rescue plan that it said would lead to nationalization of its parent, the Empain-Schneider group. Creusot faults the French Government for not fostering modernization of the industry.

Miscellaneous. U.S. News & World Report was sold to Mortimer Zuckerman, publisher of The Atlantic. The New York State Teachers Retirement Fund, citing poor performance, is pulling \$1.9 billion from Manufacturers Hanover Investment. Trilogy dropped its ambitious plans for a big mainframe computer and delayed introduction of its "water scale" computer chips. House and Senate conferees have now agreed on \$46 billion of tax increases over four years; their goal is \$50 billion.

Merrill Perlman

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JUNE 15, 1984 (Consolidated)				Standard & Poor's				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	400 Indust	176.5	169.2	169.2	-7.31
IBM	7,535,900	99 1/2	- 6 1/4	20 Transp	128.9	121.2	121.2	-7.72
Aetn Lf	6,647,100	28 1/2	- 1 1/2	40 Util	64.7	63.4	63.4	-1.33
Disney	6,485,000	49 1/2	- 15 1/2	40 Financial	15.2	14.6	14.7	-0.56
AT&T	6,272,000	16 1/2	+ 1	500 Stocks	155.1	149.0	149.0	-6.14
Exxon	5,256,900	38 1/2	- 1 1/2	Dow Jones				
St O Ind	5,107,600	56	- 3	30 Indust	1130.9	1083.5	1086.9	-44.35
Travler	4,011,700	27 1/2	- 1 1/2	20 Transp	477.4	454.5	458.0	-19.65
Mobil	4,648,100	25 1/2	- 1 1/2	15 Util	124.1	121.8	122.3	-2.07
Supr Oil	4,524,500	42 1/2	+ 1/4	65 Comb	439.6	422.0	423.9	-15.92
Jewel C	4,340,100	72	+ 6 1/4	The American Stock Exchange				
Mid S Ut	3,748,800	10	- 2 1/2	MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JUNE 15, 1984 (Consolidated)				
Conti	3,744,300	5 1/2	- 1 1/2	Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Bell So	3,669,800	29 1/2	+ 1/2	Wang B	1,063,300	25 1/2	- 1/2	
Motria	3,395,800	29 1/2	- 3 1/2	Delmed	571,700	7	+ 1 1/2	
N Semi	3,172,300	11 1/2	- 1 1/2	TIE Comm	561,800	13	- 1/2	
MARKET DIARY				WDigital	516,000	7 1/2	- 1/2	
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	DomePet	515,800	2-7/16	-3/16	
507	1,473	2,220	31	AtlasVan	494,500	17 1/2	- 1 1/2	
1,320	690	2,224	36	Granger	443,800	21	+ 1/2	
Prev. Week	Prev. Week	Prev. Week	Prev. Week	GaaxyO	391,500	2 1/2	- 1/2	
507	1,473	2,220	31	Bloount	358,900	14 1/2	+ 1/2	
1,320	690	2,224	36	GRCd	302,000	13 1/2	- 1 1/2	
VOLUME				MARKET DIARY				
(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date		Advances	225	481		
Total Sales	385,783,190	10,557,914,189		Declines	511	292		
Same Per. 1983	499,943,143	10,817,075,612		Total Issues	905	908		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				New Highs	16	22		
High	Low	Last	Change	New Lows	62	60		
New York Stock Exchange				VOLUME				
Indust	105.0	101.2	-4.19	(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date		
Transp	79.5	78.8	-0.31	Total Sales	21,136,130	609,600,685		
Util	43.6	43.2	-0.54	Same Per. 1983	56,739,850	1,095,105,705		
Finance	81.0	79.0	-2.35					
Composite	89.0	86.1	-3.16					

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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The Day the Cloud Lifted

Freedom Day, it might be called. It could come on January 1, maybe sooner, and if it does occur, it will reverberate in the history of the melting pot. Through the night, people will line up by the thousands, perhaps by the hundreds of thousands, outside churches, community centers and government offices, waiting to come out of the shadows, waiting for freedom from fear. Freedom Day: the day on which two million or more illegal aliens become legal residents.

The idea of such a day has long been a dream for people who understand how shamefully those aliens are exploited. In a few days and a few votes, that dream could be ratified.

Last week, the House of Representatives worked most of the way through the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill. Among other things, the House voted for a big stick: to make it illegal for employers to hire illegal aliens. That provision, already approved by the Senate, could do much to put the country back in charge of its borders. On Tuesday or Wednesday, the House will vote on the companion carrot: to legalize the status of aliens already established in this country.

This amnesty would apply only to those who have been here for some time. It would not make them citizens. Indeed, the amnesty would expressly forbid their receiving many kinds of governmental aid. But it would free them from the cloud.

What kind of cloud? Representative Robert Garcia of the Bronx tells of a relative who came over the border from Mexico in 1921. "For almost 50 years, until he died, he looked over his shoulder, afraid of being caught and sent back. He was a fine worker, he spent years working in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. But all that time, he had to live that way, under that cloud."

Illegal aliens are subject to exploitation by employers or landlords who threaten to turn them in unless they accept low wages, high rents and tawdry conditions. They watch as Social Security is withheld from their pay, even though for them it's

money down the drain. Fearing apprehension, they're even reluctant to call the police when they are victimized by criminals.

Simpson-Mazzoli would allow them to apply for legal status. There might be 2.9 million people eligible, half of them Hispanic. That's a powerful answer to those Hispanic leaders who claim that Simpson-Mazzoli would somehow be discriminatory.

Democrats Walter Mondale, Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson know how much legalization could benefit Hispanic people. Nonetheless, courting the Hispanic leaders, they campaigned against the bipartisan Simpson-Mazzoli bill. The profile in courage is that of President Reagan. He also seeks Hispanic support, yet in his news conference last week, he stood firm in his support of the bill.

Another kind of opposition arose in response to an amendment the House adopted Thursday, to admit thousands of guest workers. It would allow growers, in times of labor shortage, to ask the Attorney General to let in enough temporary foreign workers to harvest perishable crops.

To some people, that begins to look like a loophole as big as the law. Organized labor, for instance, fought for the big stick of employer sanctions, to protect American workers against the unfair competition of low-wage illegal workers. But if a guest-worker program would let such workers in legally, then what's the point?

In fact, there's a lot of point. The popular conception is that most illegal aliens work in agriculture. But that's a misconception. Probably not more than 15 percent are farm workers; most work in low-level service and industrial jobs. The guest-worker provision is sure to be modified in conference with the Senate, but even if not, Simpson-Mazzoli would bring the law to bear on the employers who hire the other 85 percent.

That would be in the national interest, and so would Freedom Day.

56 Million Fathers

How many fathers are there in the United States?

No one really knows. Whenever someone surveys American men to ask, about 20 percent don't respond, or say incorrectly that they are single and have had no children. Some of them may feel guilty about unpaid child support.

Then what's a good guess?

There are 83 million men 18 and over. Since two-thirds of women are mothers, it's reasonable to suppose that an equal proportion of men are fathers. That means about 56 million fathers.

How many of them live with their families? About 25 million, says the Census Bureau. Of those, 24.3 million are married and live at home with children under 18. Another 750,000 maintain homes with their children but are single.

Is that number growing?

Yes. It has more than doubled since 1970, but so has the number of households headed by single mothers. They now constitute 20 percent of families with children under 18.

Go back to those men who say they haven't fathered any children though they really have. How many of them are deadbeats?

At least two million. Last year, the Census Bureau found that 4 million women were entitled to child-support payments but that only 47 percent of them were receiving the full amount.

How many men are on the way to fatherhood before marriage?

About one in five. A new Census Bureau study estimates that 10 percent of recently married women have had a premarital birth and that another 10 percent were pregnant at the time they got married. All told, that's 20 percent — which is twice the figure applicable in the 1930's and 1940's.

How old are men when they become fathers? As might be expected, four out of five are between 20 and 40. Of the 3.6 million babies born in 1981, almost 3 million were to fathers in that age range. About 135,000 were born to fathers between 40 and 54. There were 6,697 babies reported for fathers over 55.

For how many men will today literally be Father's Day?

Births are running about 3,650,000 this year, so the arithmetic is easy: Approximately 10,000 babies will be born in the United States today.

What presents will their fathers, and other fathers, get today?

The Neckwear Association of America estimates that 96 million neckties are sold annually and that perhaps 20 percent are sold for Father's Day, or about 19 million neckties. With 56 million fathers, that means one out of three fathers will receive a necktie today — though some fathers may get more than one, which would, of course, throw the figures off.

What will the rest get? Shaving lotion.

Topics

Action and Reaction

Olympic Spirit

Arnie Boldt, a Canadian high-jumper, can clear 6 feet, 6 1/2 inches. That wouldn't take a medal at the Los Angeles Olympics, but it probably will at the Olympics that open today on Long Island. Arnie has only one leg.

Arnie and 1,800 other handicapped athletes will compete in the International Games for the Disabled. This is the third such event, held every four years coincident with the regular Games. Unfortunately, it's already been stained by the same politics. The Russians, having signed up to participate for the first time, 10 days ago pulled out their team of 22 blind runners without explanation.

For disabled athletes, however, a political boycott is hardly ruinous. They know plenty about overcoming handicaps.

In the disabled-games athletes from some 50 countries will compete for 2 weeks in 22 sports. The blind play soccer with a ball that beeps. Amputees play wheelchair basketball and volleyball sitting on the floor. Blind runners are assisted by sighted runners keeping pace beside them.

There's no official connection between the Long Island and the Los Angeles Games, but this year there's an inspiring link.

Following Olympic trial elimina-

tions on June 30, eight men and eight women from the disabled games will go to Los Angeles for the first Olympic 1,500-meter and 800-meter wheelchair races.

There is the true Olympic spirit — fair competition between all with the will to compete. May it always prevail over political conflict.

Country Life

Because the city's Health Department is predicting a severe mosquito season, it's applying a bacterial agent called Bactimos to wetlands in Staten Island, Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx. The larvae, they say, won't have a chance. Maybe so, but what about whatever's being spawned in the fifth borough?

Make no mistake, mosquitoes grow in Manhattan, too. A friend reports sighting a monster the other night. She insists an anopheles that size hasn't been seen since Hollywood stopped making malaria movies.

She has also been visited by a very fat fly, batted back a hard-shelled bug that was traversing her desk and has sprayed more than a few ants down the kitchen drain.

Thanks to a wet spring, the city seems destined for a country summer. If so, at least there are fireflies to anticipate.

News on Wheels

Bemused patrons of Metro-North Commuter Railroad found a surprise this week on vacant seats — the first issue of a new bulletin called "Mileposts." It's the first sign in years that the management of the Harlem, Hudson and New Haven lines is capable of user-friendly communications.

The four-page bulletin promises to keep passengers informed of "progress we are making in offering you the comfortable, reliable service you deserve." It offers chat about improved air conditioning, better bridges and stations and discounted summer fares to the New York Botanical Garden.

By trying to keep customers informed, the line's management is breaking with a tradition of sullen silence. To most passengers, the voice of Metro-North is the croak of a public address system announcing delays without apology or explanation.

All users of mass transit deserve better. Old-timers recall that the subway once made an effort to inform and divert passengers with a poster-size "Subway Times." That vanished long ago, with the 15-cent fare and the "Miss Subways" contest.

So give Metro-North partial credit for its effort. Time enough to deliver the rest when the line delivers on the promises it makes in "Mileposts."

Letters

Modern Terrorism: The Civil Rights Connection

To the Editor:

In its perplexity over the phenomenon of international terror, the Administration seems inclined to resort again to its simplistic view of Communism as the ultimate source of all contemporary evil.

Without analyzing the nature or origins of the phenomenon, a Reagan-signed document of April 3 appears to focus on "state-sponsored terrorism" (news article June 6) as the most obvious target, presumably having countries like Iran, Libya or Syria in mind, and somehow suspecting the ubiquitous Communist hand.

In fact, the alarming spread of terrorism and the enormous variety of the causes and groups sponsoring it should warn us that far subtler, though decidedly explosive, historic forces are at work in the contemporary world. For one thing, history teaches that terror is an age-old political instrument and that what requires a new comprehension is indeed its spectacular spread in our time.

Moreover, where Americans think of the assassination of Presidents Lincoln and Kennedy or Martin Luther King, history reminds us of the great variety of motives, including many we might ethically condone — like the famous tyrannicides, from the two Athenian heroes who killed

Pisistratus's son to the Russian freedom fighters involved in attempts on the life of czars, to the desperate attempt of the German resistance movement to eliminate Hitler on July 20, 1944.

Nor is history exactly silent about the reasons behind the current spread of terrorism. In fact, if these might at first seem complex, we have only to look into ourselves to understand some of the dynamics of what is going on.

Being products (as well as agents)

of modern history, we possess a highly developed sense of our own identity, including the unambiguous assertion of our individual rights, which, on the whole, would have been unthinkable in former times. While one can hardly measure the increase of individual militancy, it is politically expressed in our midst in movements like women's lib or the various forms of minority action.

In the West, all this and the underlying, often intangible psychological developments have been the logical result of individual advances over the last 500 years. Modern terrorism (not unfamiliar to this country) is the modern individual's rejection, under desperate provocation, of psychically intolerable infringements of his rights.

What keeps our present world in turmoil, from the I.R.A. to Poland to the Punjab's Sikhs, is that during the last century the West has spread its gospel of individual self-assertion clear around the globe. Beyond condemning terrorist violence, it would be reassuring if our leaders would try to read these seismic signals of the real volcanic turbulence shaking up our world, and adjust their policies to such deeper insights.

THOMAS E. GOLDSTEIN
Professor of History, City College
New York, June 6, 1984



A Necessary Response to Sikh Fanaticism

To the Editor:

As a one-time foreign correspondent in India and frequent visitor there, I disagree with James Traub's Op-Ed piece of June 12 on the storming of the Golden Temple in Amritsar ["India Against Itself"].

When traditional societies modernize, they frequently spew up reactionary groups which violently challenge the new society. Thus we have the bloody and obscurantist Khomani regime in Iran, the bizarre rule of Qaddafi in Libya and the terror by Sikh fanatics in northern India. The parallels are not precise, but there were similar reactions in Japan and Brazil when their societies were modernizing. To assume, as Mr. Traub does, that these fanatical groups can be negotiated with is to ignore their irrational and fascist nature.

Far from representing a failure of

democracy, Mrs. Gandhi's effective military action is a triumphant reassertion of government with the consent of the governed.

First she tried to negotiate, only to find that the Sikh separatists were purely destructive in their objectives. Then, before taking strong steps, she waited — as a democratic leader must — until public opinion had been fed up with intransigence.

In spite of scattered mutinies, the great majority of Sikh soldiers and officers apparently remained loyal. It is now likely that the Sikh community, inwardly relieved if a bit sullen, will resume its prominent and prosperous place.

To blame Mrs. Gandhi for the violence is a little like blaming Abraham Lincoln for bringing on the Civil War.

JAMES W. MICHAELS
Editor, Forbes Magazine
New York, June 12, 1984

Textbook Backlash

To the Editor:

"Self-Censorship," an item in your June 6 editorial "Topics," condemns a publisher's list of "no-no's" for textbook compilers, including "controversial politicians," and attacks on "legitimate authority" and on "free enterprise."

It is indeed sad that such negative guidelines are issued, but you should recognize that they are the publisher's response to public anger against the eccentric notions that were imposed on textbook writers in the last two decades by militant special-interest groups.

Surely it is time that our educators, school boards and textbook publishers started treating education as the pursuit of knowledge rather than as therapy, as political indoctrination or as instruction on how to build a brave new world.

RAYMOND ENGLISH
Senior Vice President
Ethics and Public Policy Center
Washington, June 7, 1984

The Honorables

To the Editor:

The subject of honorary degrees is not of great importance, but having been incompletely quoted about it in a May 27 news article, I should like to dispel the impression that I would reserve such degrees for academic scholars.

On the contrary: university people have earned their doctorates, and honorary ones are as redundant for them as they are inappropriate for public figures. The academic world should confer honorary degrees on people outside its walls who have done comparable work. All degrees would thus have been earned, in course or through independent study.

In other words, I should like to see the university exercise a judgment it alone can pass on work it knows something about, instead of merely ratifying, with rather comic solemnity, public acclaim already bestowed on artists, businessmen and political leaders.

JACQUES BARZUN
New York, June 7, 1984

In Honduras, Incipient Anti-Americanism

To the Editor:

In a June 7 news article, you reported that the new commander of the armed forces of Honduras, Gen. Walter López Reyes, had called for a more independent relationship with the United States and that, as a result, the Reagan Administration might have to "re-evaluate its reliance on Honduras as the cornerstone of its military plans in the region."

Your readers should know that this change of attitude reflects a more generalized anti-American sentiment in Honduras in response to the heavy U.S. military presence.

On March 22, in a full-page ad in the major newspaper La Tribuna, 126 prominent citizens appealed to the Honduran "national conscience" and pleaded for rejection of force, for support for the Contadora process, for withdrawal of foreign troops from Honduras and Central America and for removal of U.S. bases from Honduras.

On May 1, as 60,000 Hondurans marched in a May Day parade, placards denouncing U.S. intervention in Honduras and demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops were interspersed throughout the crowd.

On the eve of Mother's Day, anti-American speeches were heard during a candlelight vigil held by families of Hondurans who have "disappeared." The message was that U.S. penetration and the presence of anti-Sandinista "contras" were turning Honduras into a nation willing to trample upon the rights of its own citizens.

Even in a May 18 demonstration of street vendors demanding the right to

sell goods in downtown Tegucigalpa, middle-aged women brandished picket signs accusing President Roberto Suazo Córdoba of placing the interests of the U.S. above the basic needs of the Honduran people.

Finally, on May 21, two black American soldiers in a rented Toyota pickup truck sped through a university intersection in Tegucigalpa and injured a student. This prompted a spontaneous demonstration by 200 Honduran students, during which the vehicle was overturned and set ablaze. Observers believe that, had the soldiers not been black and had the U.S. not provided and paid for immediate medical care for the student, the incident would have exploded into a major political protest.

While it would be a mistake to read too much into these events — opposition to the U.S. presence is still weak, Hondurans genuinely fear Nicaragua and much of the business elite was relieved by the influx of U.S. military personnel — Hondurans are beginning to question the American military presence and the risks to their nation, should it get caught up in the Reagan Administration's ideological crusade to destroy the Sandinista Government.

DAVID A. MINTZ
Brooklyn, June 6, 1984

The writer returned recently from a visit to Honduras.

Nazi Germany's Defeat Began at Stalingrad

To the Editor:

In his June 8 letter, Ivan Bodis-Wollner refers to Normandy as the beginning of Nazi Germany's defeat. This is a prevalent Western distortion of history. The turning-point of World War II was the Battle of Stalingrad. The main front was in Eastern Europe, no matter what efforts are made to conceal it. The words about the importance of the eastern front, by F.D.R., Churchill, Eisenhower and Beaverbrook, should be in all high school and college textbooks.

M. K. STONE
Philadelphia, June 10, 1984

D-Day Redundancy

To the Editor:

The "D" in "D-Day" does not, as you said in a recent news article, stand for "designated" — it stands for "day." The redundancy derives from military planners' way of reckoning time: so many days before and so many days after an operation.

The time-series runs D-minus 10 days, D-day, D-plus 10 days. The scheme produces "H-Hour" for the exact time of attack. (There are no "M-Minutes"; if the time is set, say, for 0825, then 0800 becomes "H-25 mins.")

GORDON HARRISON
Dorset, Vt., June 6, 1984
The writer is author of "Cross-Channel Attack," the U.S. Army's official history of the D-Day assault.

Hard Swallow

To the Editor:

Some might have said that it was simply water over the dam; others might have responded that our defeat should be suffered like water off a duck's back. But "Pure Outrage," your June 12 editorial analysis [of the municipal water tasting contest in Dallas, in which New Orleans won first prize] tastes right to me.

(Mayor) EDWARD I. KOCH
New York, June 12, 1984

Immigrants Spared The Ellis Island Test

To the Editor:

The renovation and restoration of Ellis Island has been mentioned in papers recently, notably in articles and letters in The Times. Ellis Island did indeed play a considerable role in the immigration that helped to build our country, but I wonder how many of those who want to restore it are aware of the part that class played in Ellis Island interrogation.

Only steerage passengers went through Ellis Island. While cabins on the liners were occupied mostly by Americans and wealthy European tourists, this was not invariably the case. I have an example in my own family.

My maternal grandfather came to the United States as an immigrant at the turn of the century. He traveled steerage, like most other immigrants, and was interrogated on Ellis Island. He was questioned closely about his prospects and qualifications. He was not allowed to have a job, but had to have good qualifications for one.

My grandmother and the children, who came over several months later, had enough money to obtain second-class cabins. They were politely interviewed in the ship's salon and waved ashore without ever seeing Ellis Island.

ARTHUR J. MORGAN
New York, June 8, 1984



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The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

Jackson, Repudiate Farrakhan

By Bayard Rustin

Since the death of Elijah Muhammad, in 1975, Louis Farrakhan has felt free to build a movement of extremist Black Muslims, who see their salvation in total separation from the "white devils," and specifically reject our democratic system. As the national political conventions approach, it is important that he be publicly repudiated by those who have done so much to bring blacks into the democratic system.

Mr. Farrakhan's Nation of Islam numbers only a few thousand. Yet his appeal to the irrational, his predictions of "race war," his threats against the life of the black reporter Milton Coleman, his anti-Semitic threats, his praise of Hitler and his anti-white racism all have made him the object of media attention.

Mr. Farrakhan delights in all this publicity. He also recognizes the value of his association with the Rev. Jesse Jackson, an association that has brought him far greater national attention than his sectarian views alone could have. Mr. Farrakhan also delights in criticisms from the "white-dominated" press. After all, his fundamental strategy is built on the principle of black-white separatism, which he believes is advanced by promoting chaos in the democratic process.

For many whites, Mr. Farrakhan awakens fears about the potential for violence in the black underclass. His rhetoric seeks to exploit the frustration and agony of the black poor, who have been victimized by years of Reaganism and economic decline. Such fears are not only exaggerated but dangerous. For they bespeak a white stereotyping of blacks as a group somehow outside the society at large. They are a residue of the inner-city upheaval of the 1960's. But they are an inaccurate characterization of a black community that, as Jesse Jackson's campaign so clearly demonstrates, is increasingly participating in the political process.

It is precisely for this reason that Mr. Farrakhan's message is strategically damaging to black interests. Mr. Farrakhan's politics of racial separatism come at a time when a decade-long trend has tangibly increased black clout in the Democratic Party and the American political process. Beyond this, Farrakhan racism and anti-Semitism are unconscionable. Thus, for both practical and moral reasons, Jesse Jackson should repudiate him.

In recent years, black workers and the black poor have been the victims of a series of reversals, social and economic. A conservative shift in the nation's mood has led to the elimination of programs of vocational training, aid to education and benefits for the poor. The stagnation in public-sector job opportunities, a near-depression in steel and autos and the loss of labor-intensive jobs have hit black workers hardest because it is these sectors that employed the highest proportions of minorities.

Such setbacks, however, are not exclusively limited to blacks. Far more white steelworkers than blacks have lost their jobs because of the decline in steel. Far more white Americans are unemployed than are blacks. There are, in absolute numbers, many more white poor than black. And although blacks are suffering proportionally to a far higher degree, their setbacks are part of a national trend.

This election year is thus an opportune time for workers and the poor to join in shaping a strong coalition for political and social change. Issues can be framed in ways that cut across racial or religious boundaries and unite the vast majority of Americans. Under such circumstances, Mr. Farrakhan's immoral message and behavior are not only polarizing but anachronistic. He argues for working outside the system at the very moment when blacks are making political gains fighting within that system. Mr. Farrakhan's views argue for insularity at a time when the only way in which blacks can achieve progress is through the politics of coalition with their fellow Hispanics, Asians and whites. Indeed, the modern history of black America is filled with the cautionary examples of separatist figures like Marcus Garvey and black power leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, who have left hardly anything of permanence to the struggle for black advancement. It has been the integrationist leaders—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins—who paved the way for lasting, concrete gains.

Assessments of Louis Farrakhan must take into account this legacy of advancement in the democratic system and must accurately reflect his role in the black community—as that of a marginal spokesman for a dangerous, out-of-date politics. It's time to recognize that Mr. Farrakhan is operating outside a constitutional system that has often responded effectively to pressures by the civil rights movement to promote needed change. Thus, it is time once again to pay closer attention to the words and deeds of such organizations as the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and to listen to elected black leaders who recognize that change is possible through a program of coalition politics: through the building of a strong coalition of blacks, Hispanics, women, Christians, Jews and other ethnic.

Bayard Rustin is chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a civil rights and trade-union organization.

MONTAUK, L.I. — We are talking today about oddballs and about fathers and the double-headed nail. And how it is important to honor all of these.

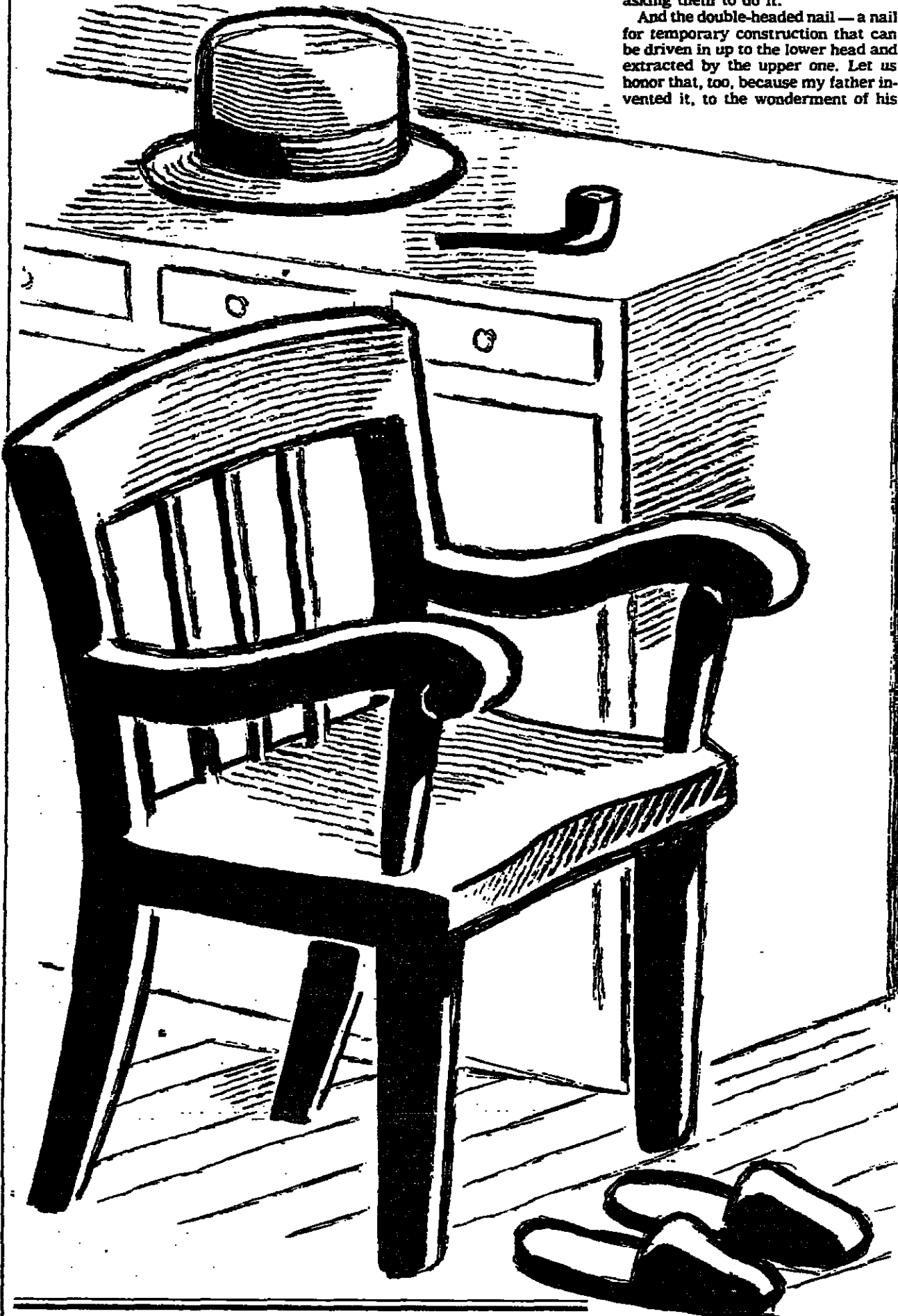
Fathers, of course, even though they sometimes hide their nobility so well it takes years before it is discovered—sometimes by sons only after they become fathers themselves. And oddballs—the writers, poets, artists and other visionary souls who

Honor Thy Father And Oddballs, Too

By Gordon Webber

dream up ideas and images in lonely rooms, usually without anyone ever asking them to do it.

And the double-headed nail—a nail for temporary construction that can be driven in up to the lower head and extracted by the upper one. Let us honor that, too, because my father invented it, to the wonderment of his



Whistler's Dad

By Emil Greenberg

Whistler's father is long forgotten though Whistler by him was begotten. As for me, I say it's rotten when filial kudos be so ill-gotten.

Whistler's mother in her rocking chair, idling her time, just sitting there; she was not knitting, she was not sewing, plenty of nothing her lap was showing.

His hard-working father was out of the house, off his rocker, supporting his spouse, while Whistler whistled and painted his Mom to instant fame, until Kingdom Come.

Tell me, friends, do you believe it fair to ignore a Dad because he's not there? Did Whistler ask Mom, "Where is Pop?" Ah, fickle fate cares not who pops up on top.

Emil Greenberg, a retired lawyer, asks: "What is so rare as his day in June?"

PARIS, June 16 — The irony of this week's elections to the European Parliament is that they have been turned into a cost-free protest against national governments.

The first direct vote for the Common Market's weightless deliberative body was in 1979. Before that, members were designated by national legislatures. Reform was urged by eager pro-Europeans to revive popular interest in the Community, perceived as a distant bureaucracy without grass-roots links.

The argument was that a special election campaign would give citizens of the European Community a sense of direct responsibility for the development of their joint enterprise and spark a new momentum for European unity. It didn't work.

In their first term, the parliamentarians talked up a storm, but nobody listened. Since they can't legislate and have never dared use their power to reject a Community budget, the widespread conclusion was that they simply didn't matter.

If the idea of a united Europe was still an exciting, mobilizing goal as it was in the 1960's, the conclusion might be that the Parliament should be strengthened with more practical power. But instead of broadening voters' outlook to common problems beyond their country's borders, the campaign has been a sorry demonstration of how much their concerns have shrunk.

All emphasis has been on national

FOREIGN AFFAIRS Europe Sags and Whines

By Flora Lewis

politics in each state, with no really European issues offered in search of a new mandate. Since national governments won't be changed, however, voters have a chance to vent their spleen without risk of shifting power. The effort to promote responsibility has instead provided an irresponsible anti-popularity contest, country by country.

Four of the 10 Community nations voted last Thursday. Ballots won't be counted until polls close tomorrow in the other six states that traditionally vote on Sunday. But the perverse impact is already evident. In Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Holland, which have already voted, participation was far below normal, only 30 percent in Britain.

Exit polls showed anti-Europeans doing well. In England, Labor is expected to double its seats, although an important by-election in Portsmouth on the same day trounced Labor, ousted Prime Minister Thatcher's Tories, and gave victory to the Liberal Social Democratic alliance. The single by-election was doubtless a more significant mark of British trends than

were results of the feeble national turnout for European elections.

In France, the extreme right is expected to make an unusual showing, since voters who dislike both the Socialist-Communist coalition Government and the major opposition can show thumbs down this way, without feeling they've given extremists a handle on power.

In Germany, the leftist Greens may sink the Liberal coalition partners in Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Government in the same sort of reaction. In Italy, polls show the Communists may outscore the Christian Democrats for the first time, as a gesture of public sympathy after the death of Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer without letting the Communists in government.

Greece is the only country where the elections have generated excitement, even disorder, but not about Europe. The point there is how vociferously the opposition wants to put down Prime Minister Papandreu's Socialists. Everywhere else, the campaign has been a dud with rival politicians trying to stir the indifferent to little more than

family and friends, a wonderment that was sharply diminished when the Patent Office told him the double-headed nail already had been invented, 23 years earlier.

My father was an oddball and very little honored in his time, which was too bad because he could have stood a little honoring, especially in his later years. (While he was young his pride sustained him.)

If he had lived in another time in some place besides a farm in Shiawassee County, Michigan, he might have been a novelist, a poet or perhaps an advertising man. Except he didn't believe too much in advertising. People who talk back to television commercials have nothing on my father; he used to talk back to the ads in the Saturday Evening Post.

My father not only didn't believe too much in advertising, he was an indifferent consumer. He bought hardly anything for himself and damned little for us, partly out of principle, partly because of no money. He was the most nonmaterialistic man I ever knew. When, one by one, the doors fell off our Model T, he never bothered to put them back on (even though he worked winters as a door hanger in an auto body plant). It was easier getting in and out of the car, he said.

My father was also lazy, as oddballs often are, and kept inventing things to make his life easier. He got tired of forking beans into little piles and loading them on a wagon by hand, the way it had been done for a hundred years. So he invented a way of loading them with a hay loader that cut days off harvesting. The neighbors thought it was heretical, but the next year they were doing it, too, and they still harvest beans my father's way in that part of Shiawassee County.

He also invented a gadget for his setup jig on the assembly line that let his gang do the job faster and rest a third of the time. When the superintendent discovered it, he put the gadget on all the jigs and cut the piece rate, so everybody ended up working just as hard as before.

My father was very creative in his handling of horses. When Dick and Nelly were straining up the lane with a big load of hay, hardly able to make it, my father would jump down from the wagon and strain along with them, coaxing, hollering, urging them on, grunting and heaving as though he was right in the harness with them. A horse would work his heart out for my father.

But he was little honored in his time for all his creativity in the little daily things of life. He was respected by his horses, perhaps even honored by them, and a dog or two and a couple of the neighbors' kids. But that was about it. His family was too busy figuring how to become bigger consumers.

It is never easy being an oddball, if you work at it full time, as my father did. You have to be born with the right amount of irreverence for things as they are and just enough impatience and rage. And a capacity for loneliness and abuse.

So today, let us honor fathers, whether they're oddballs or not, perhaps even while they are still living. And the double-headed nail, even though my father wasn't the first to invent it.

Gordon Webber, a retired advertising executive, is author of four novels, the latest of which is "The Great Buffalo Hotel."



WASHINGTON

'Ready, Willing And Able?'

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 16 — In his news conference the other day, President Reagan said he was "ready, willing and able" to meet with the Soviet leaders at a summit or anywhere else.

Leaving aside the question of whether he is "ready" or "able" to discuss the intricate questions of nuclear arms, the Middle East and world trade with Mr. Chernomir, Mr. Reagan has made it clear that he's "willing" to listen to his aides and his pollsters, who are telling him that this stalemate with the Russians is bad election politics, and that he is also willing to listen to his allies, who are telling him that failure to talk to Moscow is bad diplomacy.

The Republican leader of the Senate, Howard Baker of Tennessee, and the Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Percy of Illinois, had a talk with the President about this the other day, and like Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada, argued in public that maybe the President should change his tune and agree to meet with the Soviet leaders and talk things over.

President Reagan's response at his latest news conference was a masterpiece of public diplomacy and Presidential politics. Twenty-one of the 35 questions put to him at that conference asked about his conditions for talking to Moscow. He brushed them all aside. He would, he said, go anywhere and talk about anything, without conditions. "Anything that might clear the air and create a better understanding between us, that's fine," he said.

Moscow's reaction to all this was interesting. Leonid Zamyatin, the shrewd propagandist of the Kremlin, suddenly switched as fast as Mr. Reagan did. Forgetting what he had said in the past, Mr. Zamyatin was now talking in a different way.

"As far as we are concerned," he said, "we do have the desire to reach agreements with the United States . . . The possibility of agreement exists . . . What I have in mind is that one should begin now with such preparations, begin! We have a huge number of questions which could be examined and prepared in order to present them at a summit meeting . . ."

This is a switch in Moscow, and the question is how it came about. The guess here — and it's only a guess — is that the Russians have decided reluctantly that Mr. Reagan is probably going to win re-election in November and they will have to deal with him for another four years, and so should begin to talk to him now.

Similarly, Mr. Reagan seems to have decided that his confrontation with the Russians was beginning to frighten the allies and the American people, and that he should think about reconciliation. So at least he is beginning to talk about talking.

All this is quite different from the vicious propaganda between Washington and Moscow in the last few months, and the question now is how to proceed.

At the end of the last World War and during the Presidential campaign of 1944, President Roosevelt decided that the organization of world peace was too important to be left to the clash of partisan politics.

Accordingly, he established a non-partisan committee to study the question and arranged with Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, his opponent in the 1944 election, to cooperate in the formation of the United Nations and avoid the partisan struggles that led to the collapse of the League of Nations after the First World War. This is not a bad model for this delicate point in U.S.-Soviet relations during the Presidential campaign of 1984.

The Russians would like to play off the Democrats against Mr. Reagan, who is not their favorite character, and Mr. Mondale would no doubt prefer to run against Mr. Reagan's stalemate with the Russians, but now that the President is offering to talk to Mr. Chernomir and vice versa, the Democrats can no longer blame Mr. Reagan for accepting the negotiations they have denounced him for rejecting in the past.

But is Mr. Reagan really "ready" and "able"? He has made a brilliant political tactical maneuver. He was in trouble, not primarily because his policies were wrong — even the allies didn't question his emplacement of missiles in Europe to maintain a balance of power — but because his rhetoric was too strident. This he has now corrected, and in his latest news conference he almost seemed to be imploring the Russians to end the stalemate and talk about anything anywhere, a willingness that will obviously help him in his campaign for re-election.

President Reagan has at least opened up the door to the Russians and says he's waiting for somebody to "come up the stairs." But if the Russians do, who will be "ready" and "able" to negotiate with them? The U.S. experts on Soviet policy — George Kennan, for example — are no longer in Washington, and when and if negotiations really start, it's not clear who would meet with Mr. Dobrynin and Mr. Gromyko, who have been dealing with U.S.-Soviet relations for 40 years. But at least the talk about talks has started, and that's the main thing.

BIRTH OF A 'HOMELAND'

By HANOCH TELLER/Special to The Jerusalem Post

THIS YEAR is the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan in the Soviet Union. The Birobidzhan idea arose at the end of World War I, which was waged mainly in Russian provinces with dense Jewish populations. The Czar's commanders cast suspicion on the Jews to explain the shameful defeats suffered by the Russian armies. Countless Jews were innocently executed as "spies," and the Jewish populations of entire provinces were exiled deep into the interior of the country.

After the war and the downfall of the Czar's regime, generals of the White armies and guerrilla bands exploited the traditional distrust of the Jew in the fight against the Bolsheviks. Hundreds of Jewish towns were liquidated in bloody pogroms, and over 300,000 orphans were left without care. The number of Jews killed in these pogroms will never be known.

During the period of economic reconstruction, the new Soviet order abolished many of the social and economic restrictions on Jews. To safeguard Jewish culture and identity, to further improve the social status of Jews, and to create a Soviet alternative to Zionism, Jewish leaders proposed the creation of a Jewish-Soviet territory, or, in Soviet terminology, "an autonomous Jewish region." They hoped that it would become a "Jewish republic" among the other national republics of the USSR.

This coincided with the Soviet programme for the "productivization and national consolidation" of the Jewish masses, and with the urgent need to settle the borderlands of Eastern Siberia and China. In

the 1920s and early '30s the Soviets wanted to improve their relations with the West, and hoped that a Jewish project would influence Jewish and pro-Jewish public opinion abroad. The financial support of co-nationals in Europe and North and South America was sought to reduce the need for Soviet allocations for this project.

On March 28, 1928 the Soviet government officially selected Birobidzhan, in far eastern Siberia (11 time zones east of Leningrad), as the site of the Jewish Autonomous Region.

Birobidzhan is a desolate region located between the Arctic on the north and Manchuria and Mongolia on the south.

At the time it was inhabited by bears, tigers, wild boars and 400 peasant families. There are heavy rains almost all year long, and a long and severe winter which reaches -40 degrees.

For months the first Jewish settlers were kept at Tikon Kaya (the major railroad station, later Birobidzhan City), where life was wretched. Despite the arrival of large numbers of Jews, land for settlement had been neither allotted nor surveyed. Those Jews who did arrive during the first years were untrained as agriculturists and were unable to endure the adverse climate.

DURING the first year of coloniza-

tion the area was plagued by heavy rains, floods, an outbreak of anthrax (hoof and mouth disease), attacks by a kind of Siberian tsetse fly and an epidemic of malaria from the vast marshes and swamps that serve as a natural barrier between Russia and China.

Some settlers went back — a trip of thousands of miles — and large numbers searched for homes in the larger cities of the Far East. Others, having sacrificed their prerogative to relocate, remained and suffered great privations.

Had it not been for the small group of Jewish intellectual pioneers who volunteered for the project, the effort would have collapsed at the outset. Living among the simple people, the Jewish writers and poets emphasized the extent to which they felt as significant to the Soviet Union as it was to the Jewish people. In 1931-32 Jewish communist volunteers from the U.S., Latin America, Palestine and Europe came to Birobidzhan to help settle the region, giving a needed boost to the pioneers.

By 1935 Birobidzhan was hailed as a growing center of Yiddish culture. Plans were announced for a great library, Jewish kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, vocational schools and research institutes. The Jewish population approached 20,000, but Jews were still

only a small percentage of the region's new inhabitants. Most of the instruction was in Yiddish, and a Yiddish publishing house, a Jewish press, a Yiddish theatre, and various cultural and artistic groups were eventually established.

The Jewish community thrived for a brief period. In late 1936, however, the Stalinist purges, which engulfed all of Russia, were felt in Birobidzhan. By mid-1937, the entire Far East was declared off-limits, and immigration to Birobidzhan was placed under the control of the NKVD. In 1938, all of the committees and organizations supporting Birobidzhan were abolished and nearly all of their leaders, along with local officials in Birobidzhan, were liquidated.

The purge swept the entire intellectual elite of Birobidzhan, the Jewish teachers, journalists, and writers. The foreign Jewish volunteers were accused of espionage and of conspiring with the Zionists and "the international Jewish bourgeoisie" to commit sabotage in a sensitive Russian border area. Many were imprisoned and later murdered. Stalin had obviously decided that an autonomous Jewish settlement on the Chinese border was a mistake.

At the same time that the purges were being carried out, the Soviets exploited the publicity value of the Jewish Autonomous Region, calling

upon their Western allies and world Jewry to safeguard the future of the Jewish people by aiding the Red Army. With all vestiges of Judaism expunged from the area, Soviet Jews finally realized that the proclamation of Jewish Autonomy in Birobidzhan was a facade engineered to disguise the compulsory colonization of the region by Jewish industrial workers and artisans.

The Soviets had never intended the Jews to become a majority in the region. They had merely paid lip service to the idea of "Jewish nationhood" in order to lure Jewish talent from the cities and exile the Jews to the Siberian Far East.

Nevertheless, in 1934 the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR issued the following statement:

"For the first time in the history of the Jewish people, its burning desire for the creation of a homeland of its own, for the achievement of its own national statehood, has found fulfillment. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR is firmly convinced that all workers and kolhoz farmers of the Jewish Autonomous Region, all Jewish toilers of the Soviet Union, and the organizations of the Soviet Public will bend every effort to the speediest accomplishment of the task connected with the further

development and strengthening of national Jewish statehood in the USSR."

Though such statements had a significant impact on foreign Jewish opinion, they had no connection with reality. After the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact (August 23, 1939), Jewish migration to Birobidzhan was halted for the duration of the war years.

After the war any Jewish culture that remained in Birobidzhan was permanently eliminated. Every Jewish school, publishing house and theatre in Birobidzhan was closed, while the number of Jews in administration and local government dwindled to nothing.

After the war, the Soviets decided to rejuvenate Jewish migration to the Far East. A new directive of the Council of the People's Commissars of the Russian SFSR "concerning measures for the consolidation and further development of the economy of the Jewish Autonomous Region was published in the pro-Communist and Jewish Communist Press. Among other things, it instructed the People's Commissariat for Education to supply the Jewish Autonomous Region with 50 Jewish teachers of mathematics, physics, literature, science and history. This did not mean, as the pro-Soviet publications would have, had people believe, that the teachers were

to serve on the faculties of Jewish schools. Their sole intent was to make employment in the undesirable border region tempting to Jewish teachers.

Today, there are 14,000 Jews in Birobidzhan. Jewish religious adherence is nil. The only synagogue burned down in 1956. Inter-marriage is high, and there is no Jewish cemetery. The Jews are the victims of discrimination and prejudice, living in abject poverty with no hope of emerging from it.

Why the Soviet Union maintains the fiction of the Jewish Autonomous Region today is an enigma which may never be understood. Perhaps the Soviet authorities do not want to admit to an ideological failure. Khrushchev confessed in an interview in 1958 that Birobidzhan was a failure because "the Jews, who hate work and are such individualists, never liking collective work and group discipline, couldn't establish a healthy society."

Another reason might be the region's publicity value. The Soviets are fond of photographing Jewish children around one of the Hebrew street signs as evidence of the "happy children of the autonomous region" or to show that "the Jews are well-off, lacking nothing, not even their own Jewish homeland."

A third possibility is that Soviet officials are holding on to the Jewish Autonomous Region because they may one day wish to revive it. This is a common theory amongst Soviet Jews who shudder whenever the name Birobidzhan appears in the Soviet press. They are afraid that they may be asked once again to solve their Jewish problems through settlement in the Far East.

AT LEAST half of South Africa's population is too young to remember the turbulent era when Nelson Mandela began leading the African National Congress (ANC) down the road to revolution, but they have not forgotten him. In a recent poll in Soweto, the huge African township near Johannesburg, black teenagers had no idea when majority rule would finally come to South Africa, but they had no doubts about who the first president would be afterwards: Nelson Mandela.

For Mandela, who was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia trial 20 years ago on June 12, there seem to be only two routes off his prison on Robben Island: the president's palace or the grave. And he is realist enough to know that it will probably be the latter if majority rule must wait upon an ANC military victory. For armed liberation is not coming to South Africa this year, nor this decade.

In terms of the road to violent revolution on which Mandela set the ANC over two decades ago, it is not even the end of the beginning. Since

1980, ANC saboteurs have carried out over 160 attacks in South Africa, mostly against government buildings, but they have yet to make a dent in the prevailing impression that the government has everything safely under control.

Oliver Tambo, the ANC's exiled acting president, warned last year: "I am sure we are going to lose many civilians and many innocent people, as happens in any violent situation... Bombs will explode, and one or two people who were not intended to be there will be killed."

And sure enough, in one incident last year, a car bomb in a Pretoria street killed 19 and injured over 200.

But there have been no incidents like that since. Terrorism in South Africa, for all the monstrous injustices that exist there and despite the fact that the ANC enjoys widespread approval and support among blacks, is less serious than it is in Italy or even in England. This is largely because Mandela and other ANC leaders realize how terrible all-out racial war would be, and how unsatisfactory even a military victory would be.

Remembering Mandela

By GWYNNE DYER/London

All the right postures are being struck in public. Tambo announces his willingness to wade through blood to victory: "We cannot allow the system to persist for the sake of saving a few lives. It is not so harsh when one considers how many lives apartheid has destroyed. The Zimbabweans lost about 30,000 people to get their independence."

The South African government responds in like manner, orating about the threat of the "total onslaught" and launching military attacks into neighbouring black-ruled countries to force them to deny the ANC bases. But the subtler political strategists in the ANC and the South African government have not yet turned their brains off and handed everything over to the soldiers.

PRIME MINISTER P.W. Botha's attempt to inveigle coloureds and Asians into a kind of "reformed apartheid" system by offering them votes and cabinet seats is one proof that there is still some room for politics. Another is the United Democratic Front, a political coalition involving members of all South Africa's races that is resisting this maneuver, which enjoys full ANC support.

So long as there is even the slightest hope or possibility of peaceful change, prudent South Africans of

all colours will avoid pushing the violence too far, for once that happens there is no turning back — and South Africa is not Zimbabwe. It is not merely a question of 30,000 dead to "liberate" the country, or 300,000, or even three million (though the figures would certainly be at the high end of that scale).

It is the fact that no solution imposed solely by violence can be followed by democracy and peace. There are eight million non-Africans in South Africa, most of them white, and they are never going to go away.

it would be like evacuating Sweden.

Everywhere else in Africa, Europeans and Asians have ultimately been dispensable politically: most leave or are expelled soon after independence, while a tiny minority stays on to do specialist jobs. But in South Africa — even a black-ruled South Africa — all those millions of people will have to be included in the political system and catered for by it — or else ruthlessly repressed.

So if you're going to have to negotiate with them in the end, why not do it without destroying the country by war first? There is still an element of this logic, this reasonableness, in ANC thinking, despite the obligatory bloodthirsty rhetoric. And despite the clouds of racist self-righteousness that pollute South African politics, there are quite a few white politicians — including

Botha — who betray signs of this kind of thinking on occasion.

They are still light-years apart on how much change, how soon, is enough, and they don't dare get too far ahead of their followers. But there are still serious leaders in South Africa, both black and white, who understand that politics is always about compromise, and do not just after the awful ideological purity of a racial Armageddon.

Among the ANC leaders, Mandela understands this best of all — and the fact that he is imprisoned and isolated means that his views on this cannot be argued with or impugned. From his cell on Robben Island, Nelson Mandela continues to do all South Africans a great service.

The writer is a London-based freelance journalist who specializes in international affairs.

HE IS YOUNG, fanaticized and seemingly fearless in the face of murderous enemy firepower. Death, he is told, is the supreme reward because it opens the door to Paradise. And thousands like him are believed to have perished fighting, or just clearing the path for advancing regulars as human mine detectors.

That picture of Iran's child-soldier "martyrs" emerges from testimony by eyewitnesses who have talked to teenage survivors in an Iraqi prisoner-of-war camp from official United Nations documents and from correspondents covering the 3½-year-old Gulf war.

Only Iran, saying its statements have been misquoted, insists they do not exist. It contends that the Iranian children held by Iraq were among thousands of Iranian civilians deported by Iraqi authorities in the early stage of the war.

There is no binding international law forbidding the use of child soldiers. Iran is a signatory, but has not yet ratified a UN human rights pact committing parties to "take all feasible measures in order that children who have not attained the age of 14 years do not take a direct part in hostilities."

NO ESTIMATES are available of the number of children who are part of Iran's armed forces. But Hoda-Jatollah Rafsanjani, president of the Iranian Parliament and heir apparent to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, said in 1982 that Iran's armed forces were joined by 400,000 volunteers. An exile source said that since military service is compulsory starting from the age of 18, most of these "volunteers" were likely to be younger.

Some 300 surviving "kid soldiers," most of them believed to be 15 years and less, are held by Iraq in a special, separated compound at al-Ramadi, about 96 kms. west of Baghdad, where they are regularly visited by delegates of the oil-Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross. ICRC President Alexandre Hay says they are "well-treated", but declines further comment in accordance with the neutral agency's policy of strict confidentiality. Grim accounts were supplied by other humanitarian groups, however, who were last allowed by Iraq to visit the al-Ramadi camp in December.

"It was saddening," Michel Rode, of the Swiss-based Terre des Hommes, said. "These kids do not normally give their age, wanting to be regarded as adult regular fighters. I talked to 78 of them. The voices of quite a few had not yet changed. But some insisted they were 20, which is pure fantasy. I think that youngest were about 12. And one must not forget that some

Kiddie killers

By HANNS NEUERBOURG
Geneva

have been prisoners for two years or more."

"SOME TOLD ME they wanted to die as martyrs," Rode related. "Death, they said, would be their supreme reward. For them, the fact that they were taken prisoner was an accident, something that should not have happened. They said they were eager to return home so they could resume fighting the Iraqis, even if the war lasted 10 or 20 years. And they said they hoped there would be other wars for Islam in which they could fight, too."

Rode said it appeared that most of the children had received between one and three months of military training before they were sent to the front, but that some had had no training at all.

"Most likely, their weapons were either firearms or bayonets or daggers, but several adult Iranian soldiers told me that kids were sent unarmed across minefields to clear them for the advancing armies," Rode continued. "Their casualties reached monstrous proportions. I was told the prisoners at al-Ramadi included the lone 32 survivors of a group of 400 youngsters."

Rode said that many children apparently did not speak freely about what they had gone through. "I believe they feared repressive measures from their thoroughly indoctrinated leaders who still seem much in control of them at al-Ramadi."

An Iranian exile representative of another human rights group said some children opened up when she spoke to them alone at the camp. "They started crying and called me mother. It was touching," said the woman, who would identify herself only with her pseudonym, Iran-dokht (daughter of Iran).

"They told me that none of them had any arms, except perhaps a piece of wood or stone to throw at the Iraqi tanks," the woman said. "But there were others who said they proudly accepted being used as mine detectors."

"They did not have uniforms. They were just given T-shirts with the word 'martyr' on the back, meaning they were bound for Paradise with the permission of the Imam (Khomeini)." She said an Iraqi colonel told her that casualties

among the child soldiers were up to 99 per cent.

Both Rode and the woman said information received since the December visit indicated that child soldiers were continuing to be sent to the front in the latest Iranian offensive. A French Gamma Agency photographer, Francois Lochon, who visited the Iraqi front recently, reported he saw many dead children "who were no older than 12 or 14" among thousands of bodies.

"The skull shaved, wrapped in the red scarf of the martyrs, the key to Paradise around the neck. They were scattered around the rocky trenches or floating in the still waters," he said in an eyewitness account in "Quotidien de Paris", March 2.

"Several hundred were taken prisoner. One of them, a young Azerbaijani, explained that before the offensive, the Iranian authorities closed the schools and rounded up all the children old enough to fight."

ALSO REPORTING from the Iraqi Front, Jean-Pierre Haddad said in a March 9 article in the Swiss newspaper Tribune de Geneve that the child soldiers he spoke to had "austere and impenetrable faces."

"I asked a 13- or 14-year-old kid why he was fighting," Haddad said. The reply was, "Because the Imam told us to."

According to a report submitted to the current session of the Human Rights Commission, an Iranian government representative admitted in a closed-door hearing last August that children were taking part in the war against Iraq. It paraphrased the Iranian diplomat as saying: "Their heroism and enthusiasm were based on the notion of martyrdom, which materialists were unable to understand. Every Muslim had a religious duty to defend human honour and dignity against aggression... The children were helping their parents to fight to liberate their soil, to defend the values in which they believed and to protect the revolution."

Two weeks later, the report said, the Iranian mission to the UN in Geneva sent a letter to the UN Human Rights Centre that "categorically rejects this suggestion that the use of children in the (Iranian) armed forces is an established practice or one that is encouraged by the government."

Asked about this, the mission's no. 2 official said he was misquoted in the report.

"There are no children in our armed forces," he said. "The children in the Iraqi camps were deported along with their families by the Iraqis." (Associated Press)

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Yigael Hurvitz warns of 1,000% annual inflation

'Wages will have to be paid weekly'

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — "If the economic situation continues to deteriorate, inflation will be 20 to 25 per cent a month by September or October. This means an annual rate of about 1,000 per cent, wages will have to be paid once a week and financial chaos will break out."

This dire prediction was made yesterday by Yigael Hurvitz, who was finance minister in 1980 and is now running on his own list, called Ometz. The number two slot is held by Zalman Shoval, a banker, and number three is Haim Shuki, a farmer.

Hurvitz described the present situation as due to "criminal financial and economic negligence." He

blamed the Likud and the Alignment equally for failing to set up a "national unity government" and to work together to get the country on the road to recovery.

The first objective of his party, Hurvitz said, would be to help set up such a national unity government. Failing this he would favour a package deal between the winning party and the Histadrut.

"But whatever happens, the first step must be a slamming on of the economic brakes, followed by a freeze in all sectors of the economy. Only after a period of tranquility could renewed economic growth be considered," he said.

Asked his position on West Bank settlements, he said he was willing to see government budget cuts along a

broad line, including health, security, education and even West Bank settlements — although he would regret having to agree to the latter.

Hurvitz castigated both the Likud and the Alignment for their well-meant promises, "which they could never keep." This included promises to preserve the value of all funds now available to the public, including *patrim* and the various savings schemes. "Circumstances, not good wishes, will dictate what will happen to them."

He labelled as "ridiculous" the Likud's plan to introduce pre-kindergarten compulsory schooling, noting that the Alignment had not only adopted this Likud proposal, but had even gone one step further, promising free university education.

"We can barely pay for free high school, we are going deeper and deeper into debt, and both parties are making election promises they know will never materialize."

Hurvitz admitted that he was talking like a "prophet of doom," but recalled that he had made the same prediction in 1979-80 — "and my prediction has come true." The adverse balance of payments had grown tremendously since then, he said. Productivity had not risen, the economy was stagnant and the external debt was ballooning. "Nobody is laughing today, but nobody really wants to face the truth."

He recalled that in 1980, when he was finance minister, the adverse balance of payments dropped to \$2.184 billion from \$2.474, of the year before. Industrial exports that year rose to \$3.34b. from \$2.54b. in 1979.

"And in that same year, 1980, I printed only IL2.5b. in 1983, eight times that amount in comparative figures was printed," he said.

PRICING. — Yehanan Maman, the owner of an Eilat mini-market, was fined \$500,000 and given a 90-day suspended jail sentence for numerous pricing violations, such as removing old price stickers from bottles of cooking oil after a price increase and selling them for the new price.

FLIGHT. — El Al last night inaugurated a route to Chicago and Los Angeles, the 12,161 kilometre, two-step run being the longest in the airline's history.

WHAT'S ON

JERUSALEM MUSEUMS

Israel Museum. Exhibitions: How to wrap Five Eggs: Traditional Japanese Packaging; The Well-Built Elephant; Popular American Architecture; Book Illustrations: Eight Years of Sculpture in Israel; Windows to Islam: Islamic culture, religion, science and court life; Jonathan Borovoy, Environmental sculptures and paintings; Face and Body: Photographs; 12 Pages from Gita's Garden; News in Antiquities: new finds from excavations; Tom Seidmann Freud: Illustrator of children's books; Scrap: home theatre sets and greeting cards; Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art, and Archaeology; Duda Merzache: Sculpture Installation; Special Exhibits: Masterpiece of Greek Pottery, 6th century; Kylix; Ticho House; Anna Ticho; Hanukkiot Collection — Sun, Mon., Wed., Thurs. 10-4:30; Tue. 10-10, Fri. 10-1:30; Rockefeller Museum: Kadesh Barnea, Jerusalem; Kadesh Barnea: Archaeological Finds from Phoenician Tombs, 10th to 7th cent. B.C.E.; How to Study the Past (for children); Policy Centre, next to Rockefeller Museum. Closed Saturdays.

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Computerization and barter side by side at Bank Hapoalim

By PINHAS LANDAU
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The peculiar kind of flexibility needed to do business in the 1980s is demonstrated by two recent announcements from Bank Hapoalim. Both describe new services offered by the bank — however, one is at the forefront of modern technology while the other is a throwback to business methods regarded until recently as primitive.

In the first place, the bank has announced the extension of its on-line computer service giving updated statements, to include foreign currency accounts as well. All on-line branches will soon be able to produce an up-to-date report on both current account and deposit account balances in foreign currency, including the latest transactions made, length of deposits and maturity dates and the rate of interest on each deposit.

Customers of branches not yet linked to the bank's central computer will be able to receive this service at those branches where it is available with cost. Customers using the self-service "investment update"

machines will now be able to receive a print-out of their holdings in savings and provident fund schemes, securities portfolios and foreign currency holdings as well.

The second announcement refers to a service different in every way from the first. Bank Hapoalim has entered over the last few months into the business of barter.

Barter deals, whereby two countries trade in goods without the use of cash, have become increasingly commonplace in recent years, as more and more countries have found themselves short of "hard" currencies. It has been estimated that barter deals now account for as much as 25 per cent of total world trade.

Israeli companies could take advantage of this form of trading to increase their exports to countries which would otherwise be unable to finance them. Bank Hapoalim has entered the field of barter trade through a newly-acquired subsidiary, Eagle Foreign Trade International which has for years been involved in many parts of the world, including Eastern Europe and South-East Asia.

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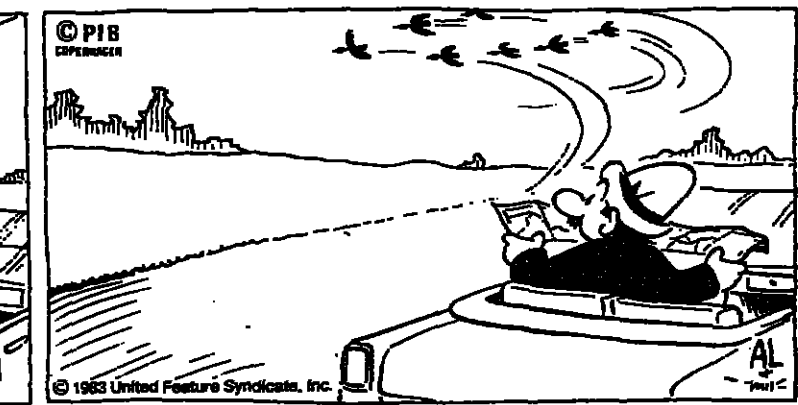
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Huge index jump sends bonds soaring

TEL AVIV - The 14.3 per cent increase in the consumer price index for May sent the prices of index-linked bonds soaring yesterday. The rise was far in excess of the worst fears of the pessimists, while the average level of expectations, in the research departments of the banks and elsewhere, was in the order of 11 - 12 per cent. This was the amount that had been "built in" to the price levels for bonds as of last Thursday.

It was only natural, therefore, for the market to bring itself into line with the new reality. This correction contained two parts: first, the gap between the expectation for the May index and the reality, based on the actual figures published. The second stage involved the updating of the now-outdated expectation of the June index to come in at about 14 per cent.

The Central Bureau of Statistics

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By PINHAS LANDAU

made it clear on Friday that the June index was already loaded to the tune of 7 1/2 per cent by the beginning of this month, when compared to the average price level for May. Once the effect of the cost-of-living increment that was paid in June is added on, the figure rises to over 9 per cent, and the regular price crawl of 3 or 4 per cent brings us to a new assessment of inflation in June of not less than 12 per cent. This assumes that in the remaining two weeks of the month there are no untoward developments.

Thus the fact that the short-dated series jumped up by as much as 6 per

cent yesterday was no more than the amount dictated by the facts. Longer-dated series were also ahead, but by smaller margins.

The overall bond index was ahead by over 3 per cent on the day, with the index for 80 per cent linked bonds jumping no less than 4.86 per cent. Volume swelled to just under 151 billion.

All in all, it was a day in which the index-linked bond market served up an object lesson in how it works, based on expected and actual inflation rates. No textbook analysis could have illustrated the market's workings more graphically and convincingly.

A word needs to be said about the share market yesterday. Nothing happened. Volume was up slightly, at 154.85 million, and the advance/decline ratio was 5:2. Despite the 55 issues added by 5 per cent or more, with 30 falling by that amount, and not forgetting the 8 "buyers only" and 2 "sellers only" situations, notwithstanding all this, the statistics show that nothing happened.

The General Share Index rose a token 0.09 per cent. The "arrangement" share index failed to move, as offers to sell were bought up without falls in price.

The non-bank index was more active, showing a gain of 1/4 of one per cent. The only sector that moved by more than one per cent was the smallest, the specialized financial institutions, which was ahead a respectable 2.78 per cent. \$11.179 changed hands in trading in this sector.

Announcements:
Ata Textiles reported that it lost a whopping \$1.25m. in 1983 after adjustment to inflation. In 1982 the company lost \$1.45m. It will be recalled that the company was saved from bankruptcy last December by a government-guaranteed loan and an infusion of fresh capital through a rights issue. In its report, the management details the far-reaching measures undertaken to turn the company round, and notes the first signs of a more positive trend emerging.

Teta, a subsidiary of Ata, achieved an adjusted profit of \$18m. in 1983, compared to a profit of \$15.4m. for 1982.

Lipsky announced that its adjusted loss for 1983 totalled \$140.8m., compared to a 1982 profit of \$17.2m.

Pollak's adjusted loss for last year amounted to \$184.5m., a complete reversal from 1982's profit of \$150.8m. (All figures are in constant December 1983 shekels).

Ata, Teta and Lipsky, having formally published their reports, will be allowed to have their shares traded again from tomorrow. Pollak only published a summary of its results and the exchange announced that it will not permit trading to recommence in the Pollak securities until the full report is submitted, as the exchange rules demand.

Most Active Issues:
Leumi 3366 1574 Im. n.c.
Hapolum 3315 1567 Im. n.c.
Mizrahi 3213 1537 Im. n.c.
Tnuva 1587 Im. n.c.
Sharon 1587 Im. n.c.
Bonds 220
Issues up: 91
Issues down: 91

Commercial Banks	Change	Volume	Change
OHF	2402	4	-1.0
Mizrahi	3215	30	-1.0
M. America	3366	10	-1.0
M. America	3366	10	-1.0
M. America	3366	10	-1.0
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Avi Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Strike epidemic

THE WAVE of strikes and sanctions that now engulfs our tottering economy will probably be entered into the record as the worst this country has experienced in any of its ten previous election campaigns.

Moreover, the outlook is that this labour unrest will not subside by election day, even if the government soon yields and reaches agreement with the Histadrut on the wage contract in the public sector. A whole string of labour disputes is likely to remain unsettled and to drag on for months.

The reason for that is not far to seek. Inflation at a rate of 400 per cent a year not only erodes real wages across the board. It also makes the existing compensation mechanism — the cost of living allowance — look like a bad joke as each such compensating allowance is wiped out before wage earners get a glimpse of it. It also plays havoc with existing wage structures and differentials.

These wage structures are a crazy patchwork. They are long overdue for a thorough overhaul. But irrational, inefficient, accidental and sometimes unjust as they are, people have come to accept them. At least for fairly long times between this or that demand for "rectification".

When inflation runs as high as it does now, and all prices, including that of labour, lose meaning so that any wage demand looks justified, this relative acquiescence would have broken down even if elections were not a few weeks away.

No matter what framework agreement the government and Histadrut may reach, there are bound to be groups of workers who feel that they have been left behind in the race, absolutely, in terms of compensation for the erosion of their earnings, as well as relatively, by comparison with others.

It is futile to drag out, once again, the hoary argument that strikes shortly before elections are cynical extortion, particularly when the wage erosion that provoked them was itself cynical indifference as long as elections were not yet in the offing.

The most irritating strike of those now going on or about to break out is that of the broadcasting authority journalists. Not only does it deprive the public of an essential service, but by threatening to prevent the campaign broadcasts, it strikes at the democratic process which has become heavily dependent on the electronic media.

However, the journalists of the broadcasting authority, who demand to be paid on the same scale as the journalists of the printed press, and not be classed with the general civil service, are a good example of many groups who feel suddenly deprived. Blacking out television and radio may be the only means they have to redress the wrong they feel has been done them.

If the broadcasting journalists have a case, the employees of the Foreign Ministry have one that is almost universally recognized. Their demands are even supported, at least in principle, by the foreign minister as well. To maintain a home into which a diplomat can invite official guests, to dress as he is expected to, to have his wife (diplomacy remains very much a male-dominated occupation) perform as an unpaid helper and practically barred from taking up work of her own — when the monthly expenditure of the average Israeli family is over \$140,000 — is impossible on the ministry's present salaries.

It is no consolation to say that all this is the bitter fruit of an erratic economic policy by a government of the right that has throughout had two left hands. For matters are likely to get worse before they get better, no matter what the results of the election. If the Alignment wins, the present administration will linger on for weeks as a caretaker government. It will certainly not exert itself to clear the decks for the alternative government. And if the Likud is once again returned to power, it will see its victory as a vindication of the economic policies that have brought us to the present pass.

Is it any wonder, then, that the striking groups are unwilling to wait until after the elections?

Proving it can be done

THE ISRAEL FESTIVAL, with events for the first time concentrated in Jerusalem, was an organizational and cultural feat. It was accomplished with relatively few hitches and held its own commercially, selling over 100,000 tickets to 172 events offered by 45 artistic groups.

For that the organizers deserve to be congratulated. Last year's festival, after all, was cancelled because of the previous year's deficit.

But now that they have proven it can be done, the organizers should consider more carefully the quality of the productions — which was decidedly uneven — the degree of participation by Israelis, the length of the festival, the venue, and for whom it is intended.

Four weeks is a long haul for a festival, and despite the package deals offered by Omanut La'am for people from outlying areas, Jerusalemites were overly favoured. The considerations, justified in themselves, that favour the capital as the centre of the festival, should be complemented by the need to provide access to a wider audience — which simply means locating more of the events in other localities.

The festival also under-represented Israeli artistic productions, and the criteria for those chosen were unclear. Local artists deserve more participation and promotion, and they need more lead time to prepare.

Without diminishing this year's achievement, all of this requires examination. Perhaps in the future less would be better, and thought should be given to what precisely makes this the Israel Festival and not one of dozens in Europe.

POSTSCRIPTS

PS AN ART exhibition which may be the first of its kind is currently being held in the Bonnefonten Museum in Maastricht, the Netherlands, on the occasion of its centenary.

To celebrate this event the directorate of the museum, which contains art from the Middle Ages to the present, asked its 16 museum guards to select the 50 works which they like best.

Each of the guards first made a list of the paintings he liked best. Then the 16 compared their lists and the 50 paintings that received most

points were selected. The guards were then left entirely free to hang the paintings and to compile a descriptive catalogue.

The 50 paintings include no modern works. The guards drew heavily on works in storage, and 60 per cent of the exhibit had not been shown for the past 15 years.

Most works selected date from 17th, 18th, or the first half of the 19th century, and most give romantic or idealized views of domestic or pastoral scenes.

PS IN WORTHING, England, video fan Gerry Burton has won a court case against a sex shop that rented him tapes that were not explicit enough.

The shop was ordered to give Burton, a 26-year-old plumber, and his ex-wife Jill a refund on five tapes they had rented for home viewing.

"I think I'll use the money to get some more films, but from a better source this time," Burton said after the case which was heard in private.

One film described as an hour of Scandinavian pornography turned out to be 15 minutes of unexciting jokes, he said.

Sorry state of Iran

By GREG MACARTHUR/Paris

LIFE TODAY in the Islamic Republic of Iran includes waiting in long lines for rationed essentials, public segregation of the sexes and a war-engendered somberness, according to reports from recent visitors and emigrants.

A composite picture of deprivation and boredom emerged from interviews conducted by the Associated Press in Paris, London, Tel Aviv and Tokyo. Some of the information came from letters or phone calls to emigrants in the West from relatives still in Iran. Few Western correspondents are allowed in Iran.

Teheran "is a city of young children and old people — everyone else has gone to war," said one Iranian on a visit to London, who asked not to be identified.

Many of those who have returned from the front are usually maimed or crippled. "There are beggars in the streets, and I don't remember seeing any when the Shah was in power," said a 44-year-old Iranian businessman who emigrated to Paris in April.

Besides the suffering from war deaths — the government has never issued a full casualty count from the four-year-old war with Iraq — rationing has created a lopsided economy with a thriving black market, according to the reports. The families of "martyrs" are favoured in the government-ordered ration plan, they said.

"Life in Teheran is very depressing. There's no joy," said a 53-year-old journalist, editor and translator who left the Iranian capital under a false name in March and now lives in Paris.

"I cannot remember the last time I laughed — I mean really laughed," a Teheran housewife wrote to a friend now living in Tel Aviv.

Some reports also indicated that public support for the regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is eroding as the war persists and Islamic law, regulating dress and ban-

ning alcoholic beverages, remains strictly enforced.

"You rarely see a mullah (Moslem clergyman) in religious dress on the street, because people make fun of them. They call them 'general' and sometimes walk up and salute them in the street," said the Iranian journalist. Another emigre in Paris said walls in southern Teheran are routinely defaced with anti-Khomeini graffiti, which are immediately scrubbed off by revolutionary guards.

MOST OF the emigre sources — nearly all of whom asked to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals — came from the upper and middle classes, and were opposed to Khomeini's fundamentalist rule since the 1979 revolution that overthrew the Shah. Few poor Iranians have emigrated. Two Iranian sisters in London quoted their recently visiting brother as saying it is possible to buy an exit visa from Iran on the black market for the equivalent of \$22,000.

Many of the Western-educated emigres complained that life is boring since they cannot drink, dance or wear Western clothes, as they were accustomed to doing under the Shah.

"There's nothing to do except visit friends," said a 32-year-old woman in Paris. She worked as a translator before the revolution, but now stays home and takes care of her six-year-old daughter. Her husband, a teacher, works two extra jobs.

"I didn't want to wear the chador (the dark head-to-toe dress for women) and put up with all that. Life is hard for women now in Iran."

She said that when she goes out to visit friends, she dons her "Islamic uniform" over her Western clothes. "If it's a party, all the women do a kind of striptease, taking off the chador and the big Islamic dresses and revealing their Western clothes."

THE STUDENT newspaper at Tel Aviv University quoted a Dr. Meri of the School of Education at Haifa University, who complained about the treatment of Arab education in Israel. "Dr. Meri says that in this country there is Jewish education but no Arab education, only education for Arabs. The determination of policy towards the education of Arabs is what is good for the Jews."

Furthermore, the Arab professor stated: "There is a tension between the definition of Israel as a Jewish state and its definition as a democratic state."

I believe the questions raised by these statements are important. Does Israel's democracy entail the obligation to sponsor an independent Arab education system, with no regard to "what is good for the Jews"? And the more general question: Does the democratic nature of Israel preclude any kind of identity as a "Jewish" state?

If we define democracy in certain

THE LIMITS OF DEMOCRACY?

By JACOB CHINITZ

purist terms, the answer to the first question would be yes, and also to the second. What would that definition of democracy be? That democracy is that system of government in which the citizens govern themselves, a government by, of and for the people, based upon liberty, equality and the pursuit of happiness.

Unqualified acceptance of this definition would imply many negotiations with reference to ethnicity, religion, cultural peculiarity, and would disqualify all existing democracies as such. This definition would also de-

mand a philosophy of secular humanism for the citizens of all democracies.

Many of the crucial debates in Israel involve the use of the terms "democracy" and "democratic," and it is useful to face these issues squarely. For example, the Alignment stand on the territories includes the argument that retaining them would pose the dilemma of either granting full citizenship to one million Arabs, thus compromising the Jewish nature of the state, or ruling over them without the granting of citizenship, thus compromising the democratic nature of the state.

Let us assume that Alignment policy is implemented, and the territories are excluded from the sovereignty of Israel. Does that solve the problem? Not by any means. The questions posed by Dr. Meri's statements still remain questions: How do we resolve the tension between Israel as a democratic state and as a Jewish one? Do we permit an Arab education system that disregards the question of what is good for the Jews?

IT IS also widely assumed that the greater the encroachments of religion in Israel, pointing in the direction of theocracy, the greater the retreat from democratic values. Recently the TV programme *This is the Time* portrayed the dangers of relegating matters of personal status and child custody to the rabbinical courts without appeal to a higher secular authority. This would be considered flagrantly undemocratic in the U.S. Not only foreign policy in regard to the territories, but domestic policy in regard to religion is also entwined with concern for Israel's democratic nature.

How do the secularists solve the problem? Even if Judaism as religion is considered a private matter not subject to state legislation, what do we do with Judaism as culture? How do we conceive of the Jewishness of the Jewish state? If we retreat all the way to the purist definition that identifies democracy with unqualified, undifferentiated human identity, and complete indifference to all cultural and social groupings, then

Dry Bones



with light bulbs, hang on doors all over southern Teheran, and the regime at times has ordered them taken down following a large, costly offensive because of fears of the effect on public morale.

She said she learned from friends whose 17-year-old son was taken directly from school to the front that Khomeini issued an official decree saying parental consent is not needed to send youths to battle.

Many of the more affluent managed to keep their own out of the army through bribes.

A Japanese Government official said rationing through coupon books began at the outbreak of the war in September 1980. As the years went on, the quality of food became poorer and the quantity less. Rationed items include butter, cheese, sugar, salt, bread, eggs, coffee, rice, salad oil, beans, tea, and shortening, he said.

The toughest restriction is a half-

chicken per family per month, said an Iranian woman living in London whose family is in Iran.

Housing costs are also high. A two-bedroom house with a small kitchen and basic toilet facilities requires a deposit of one million rials (\$11,200), said the Paris housewife who emigrated five months ago.

She said half of her husband's earnings as a postman of \$330 a month went to rent, and she did dress-making on the side to help meet costs.

Most of the sources say that families who have lost sons, fathers or brothers in the war are rewarded with extra food coupons and given priority in buying goods.

"They're given so much food they can't eat it all, so they probably sell the surplus food to the black marketeers at a high price," said a Japanese businessman who recently returned to Tokyo.

(Associated Press)

have we not accepted in principle Arafat's call for a "secular, democratic state in Palestine?" Have we not, in effect, yielded to the UN's proposition that Zionism is racism?

It is not only the Alignment and Israel's secularists who are inconsistent in the use of the terms democracy and democratic. As has often been pointed out, in some sense of the term, Israel is already a secular democratic state, and in fact, is the only such state in the entire Middle East. For, with all the references to the Jewish State, and with all the implications of the Law of Return, and with all the religious legislation of the Knesset, it is still true, that legally, an Arab can be president of Israel, a Moslem can be prime minister, and a non-Jewish majority can rule in the Knesset. About the only position not open to a non-Jew is that of chief rabbi.

In which of the Arab states is it legally possible for a non-Arab or a non-Moslem to be prime minister or president? In Egypt? In Saudi Arabia? We know the story of past and current Lebanon.

In which country in the Western or Eastern bloc, or in the Third World, does the notion of secular democracy prevail? The established religion in England is the Church of England. Perhaps the U.S. is a secular democracy. Because it was settled by diverse ethnic and religious groups, and never had a royal family, America comes closest to the purist definition of democracy. But not close enough to void the accusations of inconsistency. Here is a partial litany of historical exceptions to America's identity as a pure democracy: slavery; restriction of suffrage to male property-holders, depriving American Indians of citizenship; internment of Japanese during World War II; and recognition of Christian holidays as legal holidays.

ONE WONDERS whether Dr. Meri's argument is relevant to the U.S. Are there Indian, black, Jewish education systems in the U.S. where the question of what is good for the United States is ignored? Is there a tension between the "American" identity of the U.S. and the conception of the U.S. as a democracy? Is the guiding policy of the American Government the good and welfare of humanity, or the good and welfare of the American people? Can the U.S. or any country ever be a "democracy" by the purist definition?

There is a postscript to these issues. The existence of no country in the world is questioned, because it is not a democracy. The title of "democracy" is not denied to any country in the world because of past or present lapses from the state of

pure democracy. Is it fair on the part of others, to justify the existence of Israel on the basis of total secular humanism, or the purist definition of democracy? Must Israel alone, of all the countries on earth, be perfect?

The writer contributes to Israeli and American periodicals.

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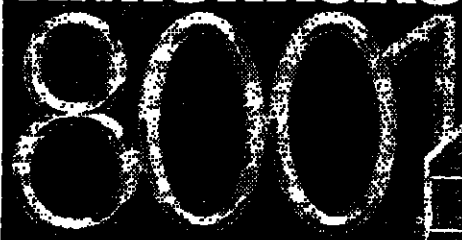
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